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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*On the Persian Game of Chess.*

By N. BLAND, ESQ., M.R.A.S.

[Read June 19th, 1847.]

WHATEVER difference of opinion may exist as to the introduction of Chess into Europe, its Asiatic origin is undoubted, although the question of its birth-place is still open to discussion, and will be adverted to in this essay. Its more immediate design, however, is to illustrate the principles and practice of the game itself from such Oriental sources as have hitherto escaped observation, and, especially, to introduce to particular notice a variety of Chess which may, on fair grounds, be considered more ancient than that which is now generally played, and lead to a theory which, if it should be established, would materially affect our present opinions on its history.

In the life of Timur by Ibn Arabshah¹, that conqueror, whose love of chess forms one of numerous examples among the great men of all nations, is stated to have played, in preference, at a more complicated game, on a larger board, and with several additional pieces.

The learned Dr. Hyde, in his valuable Dissertation on Eastern Games², has limited his researches, or, rather, been restricted in them by the nature of his materials, to the modern Chess, and has no further illustrated the peculiar game of Timur than by a philological

کتاب عجایب المقدور فی اخبار تیمور تألیف احمد بن عربشاه¹

Edited by Manger, "Ahmedis Arabshahæ Vitæ et Rerum Gestarum Timuri, qui vulgo Tamerlanes dicitur, Historia. Léov. 1772, 4to;" and also by Golius, 1736.

² Syntagma Dissertationum, &c. Oxon, mdcclxvii., containing "De Ludis Orientalibus, Libri duo." The first part is "Mandratorias, seu Historia Shahi. ludii, Hæris successivis olim congressit Thomas Hyde, S.T.P."

disquisition on the names of its pieces, as preserved in Ibn Arabshah's narrative. It might be reasonably supposed that the more extended knowledge now possessed of Eastern literature might open to us other sources of information than those on which Dr. Hyde has drawn¹, and which could not be expected to yield anything important after the able and laborious manner in which he has exhausted their supply.

In the various collections which have been examined for the present object, five works present themselves, of which one belongs to the Royal Asiatic Society, two to the British Museum, and two are in the private library of a distinguished amateur.

Of these, the treatise bequeathed to the Society by that eminent Orientalist, Major David Price², is by far the most remarkable and important, its contents not being limited, as in the other works named, to the usual short game of Chess, but comprehending also the longer game, supposed to have been that of Timur, and possessing also much both of historical and critical interest. The notice of this valuable, and, probably, unique Persian manuscript, which, indeed originated the present inquiry and for many years directed its objects, may properly precede the examination of the other four works, which, having chiefly reference to the common Chess, are of but subsidiary interest.

By a fate attached to all manuscripts, and especially those of any great age, this volume has been mutilated so as to have lost a considerable portion of its original contents, and even what remains has

¹ Dr. Hyde does not give a complete table of his Oriental authorities; but in the list of works on Chess, at the end of his Dissertation, page 156, are named the following:—

1. Lib. Arab. *في تفضيل الشطرنج على النرد* De excellentiâ Shahiludii supra Nerdiludium, Autore Sokeiker Damasceno.

2. Lib. Arab. De Shahiludio, Autore Al Sâli.

3. Lib. Arab. De Shahiludio, Autore Al Damîri.

4. Lib. Arab. *في عذر من اشتغل بالشطرنج* Apologeticus pro Ludentibus Al Shatrangj, Autore Al Râzi, qui vulgò Rasis.

8. Ala-eddin Tabrizensis *شرح* Commentarius de Ludo Shatrangj. Vide Timûri Hist. Arab., p. 428. Hic fortè is sit qui apud Saphadium ut optimus Lusor celebratus est, quando tandem cœcus esset.

² It contains also the signature of H. Ross, with the addition "the gift of Robert Holford." I give these particulars to indicate, by the names of its former possessors, its history, or from whence it came. It is numbered 250, according to the present arrangement of the Society's Manuscripts, in Mr. Marley's Catalogue.

been put together in so ignorant or careless a manner as to present, on first inspection, a mere mass of confusion. In some awkward attempt at collation, false catchwords have been added, seeming to establish the present order of the pages, and it was only by copying out the entire text on separate leaves, and, as it were, shuffling them till they produced a consecutive sense, that an approach could be made to a restoration of the original plan.

The MS., in its present state, is composed of sixty-four leaves, of which exactly one half are occupied by paintings, the remainder containing the text. The beginning and end are, unfortunately, lost, and we are thus deprived of two very important portions, especially the information which would have been afforded us in the preface, from the only remaining leaf of which, though it contains some curious matter, we neither obtain the author's name nor the date of his composition. This fragment seems to continue the subject of Talismans, but in what connection with Chess, the abruptness of the transition does not allow us an inference¹. Then follows the only passage in the work which personally concerns the author, stating him to have travelled from the age of fifteen years till the time at which he wrote, when he was in the middle period of life, in the two Iracs, Khurasan, and Mawarannehr; to have been acquainted with many masters of the art of Chess, and to have been engaged in trials of strength with the best players; on all which occasions he came off victorious; "and whereas in those days the greater number of professors were deficient in the art of playing without looking at the board, he himself played so against four adversaries at once, and at the same time against another opponent in the usual manner, and, by divine favour, won all the games."

Hájí Khalfá, under the head of Works on Chess, "Kitáb el Shitránj," after naming two Arabic treatises on the subject by Al Sauli and Abúl Abbás al Serakhsi, mentions also a work by "a

¹ To facilitate inquiry for a more perfect copy of the work, and to enable it, when found, to be identified, the first few lines are here given of the fragment which commences the MS. :—

و بسیار کس را فرج آمده است از فحاء بزرگ بدین طلسمات
و گفته است که محمد زکریا رازی همین معنی در کتاب خواص
اشیا آورده است. * و علی بن فردوس الحکیم آورده است و می
شوخ هریک اندر آخر این کتاب بواجبی یاد می دهد.

writer of later date, who composed in Persian, and who boasts himself to have been the greatest player on earth in his time; adorned with plans and figures, and a notice of authors who had preceded him¹." This would appear to be the same work with the manuscript now under notice, and the arrogant style of pretension alluded to is supported also in the continuation of his preface:

"And I invented several Positions (Mansúbát) in the Great Chess, and several Tábiahs², which were unknown to former professors; and many of those which had been left imperfect by the older players, I defended or rectified; and improved and completed what had already been discovered in Chess; and whatever wonders and beauties of the game had occurred to me, I collected and arranged in the present form." He then states, generally, the matters of which he intends to treat; but as the arrangement is not given according to the heads of chapters into which the work is divided, and is recapitulated in many parts of the book with more or less variation, it may be preferable to anticipate the details by a general division.

The fragment just abstracted is quite an isolated portion of the work, and an idea may be formed of the confusion in the MS. from the circumstance of this leaf having been placed as one of the very last, those which should properly stand at the end, being found nearly at the beginning.

The general contents may be divided into the historical, the philosophical, and the practical treatise on the game; the first and last

١٠٢٢٤ كتاب الشطرنج لابي العباس احمد بن محمد
السرخسى الطبيب توفى سنة ٢٨٤ و لحيى بن محمد الصولى و
لرجل من المتأخرين صنف فارسياً و ادعى فيها انه اعلم من فى
الارض فى زماننا فى اللعب المذكور صور صورة و شكل اشكالها و
ذكر المصنفين فيه قبله *

10224. Kitáb el-shitrenj, liber ludi latrunculorum, auctoibus Abu'l Abbás Ahmed Ben Mohammed Serakhsi Medico, anno 286 (inc. 17 Jan. 899) mortuus.—Yahya Ben Mohammed Sauli, et recentiore quodam viro, qui Persice scripsit, et non sine arrogantia gloriatur, se ludi illius hac nostra etate in toto terrarum orbe peritissimum esse. Delineavit formam tabulæ latrunculariæ et figuras depinxit, auctoresque qui ante de hoc ludo scripserint, recenset.—Haji Khalfæ Lexicon, tom. V. p. 104. Edition of Flügel.

* The terms Mansúbah and Tábiah are explained in a later part of this essay.

relate, in separate sections, to the two different kinds of Chess, while that part which may be called the philosophy of the game, would apply equally well to both species.

The better to follow the arrangement and connection of argument, it is necessary to observe that Timur's game, as described by Ibn Arabshah, was played on a board of a hundred and ten squares, with fifty-six men, while Chess, in its usual form, has but thirty-two pieces on sixty-four squares. The one is clearly derived from the other; either the smaller abridged from the large, or the larger augmented on the small. This latter opinion has hitherto prevailed, and the supposed additions have even been attributed to Timur himself, although a critical examination of the passage in Ibn Arabshah produces no such conviction. He says¹, "His (Timur's) mind was too exalted to play at the Little Chess (Shatranj ul Saghír), and therefore he played only at the Great Chess (Shatranj ul Kebír), on a board of ten squares by eleven, with the addition of two Camels, two Zaráfahs, two Taliáhs, two Dabbábahs, a Wazír, and other things, of which a description will follow," &c.; and, in a later chapter², "(Ali Shaikh) used to play with Timur at the Great Chess, and the Great Chess has additional pieces, as already mentioned." There is nothing in the Arabic words translated "great" and "little," to infer any relative priority. Hyde, however, assumes the alteration to have been that of Timur himself, and this assertion has been copied, apparently without further inquiry as to its correctness, into almost all European works on Chess containing anecdotes of the game.

It is also well to remind those persons who may not have paid particular attention to the history of Chess, that it is supposed to have been invented in India, and brought to Persia in the sixth century of our era, by Barzuyah, the physician of Nushirwan, who had deputed him to seek the work known to us as the Fables of Pilpay,

¹ وكانت علت هتته عن الشطرنج الصغير فلا يلعب الا بالشطرنج
الكبير و رفته عشرة في احد عشرة وفيه من الزوايد جهلان
وزرافتان و طليعتان و دبابتان و وزير و اشيا غير هذه وسياقي
وصغه والشطرنج الصغير بالنسبة الي الكبير كلا شيء

Cap. xvi. p. 798, Vol. I. Manger.

² وكان يلعب هو والامير بالشطرنج الكبير — والشطرنج

الكبير غيبه من الزوايد ما من ذكره *

P. 876,

and the results of his mission are usually understood to have been the original of the *Kalilah wa Dimnah*, and the art of playing chess.

To this opinion the author of our Persian MS. places himself in direct opposition, maintaining Chess, in its perfect and original form, to have been invented in Persia and taken to India, from whence it returned in its abridged and modern state. The fact, whether the game existed first in a larger or smaller form, of course, mainly affects the question. If the Great Chess were the original, there would be a strong argument in favour of the author's peculiar view; but the contrary, if the alteration had been from its simple to its more complicated system. Our author is strictly consistent throughout the whole of his treatise, and both in writing of its history, and of the principles of its play, constantly presents the Great Chess as the more ancient, scientific, and complete, and the Short game as an abridged and modern form, inferior in interest, and less symbolical of its original objects, and he invariably applies to it the term *Mukhtasar* (Abridged), in distinction from *Kamil* (Complete).

To anticipate then, in some degree, the detailed account of the work, the probable arrangement of the whole may be thus inferred from the headings of the different chapters still remaining, and from the recapitulations occasionally made of what had been already mentioned and what was to follow:—

History of Complete Chess.

Philosophy of Chess.

Manner of playing the Complete Chess.

History of Abridged Chess; and

Manner of playing it

Among the missing portions, we have to regret the author's account of the original invention of Chess, and this deficiency in the manuscript is probably of considerable extent, as we enter at once, after the single leaf of preface remaining, into what I have called the philosophical part of the essay. This is divided into separate heads, as the "Ten Advantages of Chess," and is intended by the author to exhibit the reasons for which the game was first arranged. A brief sketch will exhibit the ingenious, though sometimes fanciful system of Oriental writers in philosophizing on all subjects.

The First Advantage (of which the commencement is wanting) turns chiefly on the benefits of food and exercise for the mind, in which Chess is marked out as an active agent, intended by its inventor to conduce to intellectual energy in pursuit of knowledge: "For, as the human body is nourished by eating, which is its food, and from which it obtains life and strength, and without which the

body dies; so, the mind of man is nourished by learning, which is the food of the soul, and without which he would incur spiritual death, that is, ignorance: and it is current, that 'a wise man's sleep is better than a fool's devotion.' The glory of man, then, is knowledge; and Chess is the nourishment of the mind, the solace of the spirit, the polisher of intelligence, the bright sun of understanding, and has been preferred by the philosopher, its inventor, to all other means by which we arrive at wisdom."

The Second Advantage is in Religion, illustrating the Muhammedan doctrines of predestination (Jabr and Cadar) by the free will of man in playing Chess; moving when he will, and where he will, and which piece he thinks best, but restricted, in some degree, by compulsion, as he may not play against certain laws, nor give to one piece the move of another; "whereas, on the contrary, Nerd¹ (Eastern Backgammon) is mere Free Will, while in Dice again, all is Compulsion." This argument is pursued at some length in the text.

Passing from this singular application of theology to chess-play, we find the Third Advantage relate to Government, the principles of which the author declares to be best learned from Chess. The board is compared to the world, and the adverse sets of men to two monarchs with their subjects, each possessing one half of the world, and, with true Eastern ambition, desiring the other, but unable to accomplish his design without the utmost caution and policy. Perwiz and Ardeshr are quoted as having attributed all their wisdom of government to the study and knowledge of Chess.

The Fourth Advantage relates to War, the resemblance to which, in the mimic armies of Chess, is too obvious to detain the philosopher long.

The Fifth Advantage of Chess is in its resemblance to the heavens. He says, "The Board represents the Heavens, in which the Squares are the Celestial Houses, and the Pieces Stars. The superior pieces are assimilated to the Moving Stars, and the Pawns, which have only one movement, to the Fixed Stars². The King is as the Sun, and the Wazir in place of the Moon, and the Elephants and Taliah in the place of Saturn, and the Rukhs and Dabbabah in that of Mars, and the Horses and Camel in that of Jupiter, and the Ferzin and Zarahfah in that of Venus; and all these pieces have their accidents, corresponding with the Trines and Quadrates, and Conjunction and

¹ For an account of the game of Nerd, see "*Historia Nerdiladii*," following the "*Historia Shahludii*," in Hyde's Dissertations.

² A similar intention in the first arrangement of Chess is alluded to in Masudi's *Muruj al Zuhab*, v. Dr. Sprenger's Translation, vol. I., p. 172.

Opposition, and Ascendancy and Decline, such as the heavenly bodies have; and the Eclipse of the Sun is figured by *Sháh Cáim*, or *Stale Mate*." This parallel is completed by indicating the functions of the different pieces in connection with the influence of their respective planets, and chess-players are even invited to consult Astrology in adapting their moves to the various aspects.

The Sixth Advantage is derived from the preceding, and assigns to each piece, according to the planet it represents, certain physical temperaments, as the Warm, the Cold, the Wet, the Dry, answering to the four principal movements of Chess (viz., the Straight, Oblique, Mixed or Knight's, and the Pawn's move). This system is extended to the beneficial influence of chess on the body, prescribing it as a cure for various ailments of a lighter kind, as pains in the head, and toothache, which are dissipated by the amusement of play; "and no illness is more grievous than hunger and thirst, yet both these, when the mind is engaged in Chess, are no longer thought of."

Advantage Seventh. "In obtaining repose for the soul." The Philosopher says, "The soul hath illnesses, like as the body hath; and the cure of these last is known; but of the soul's illness there be also many kinds, and of these I will mention a few. The first is Ignorance, and another is Disobedience; the third Haste; the fourth, Cunning; the fifth, Avarice; sixth, Tyranny; seventh, Lying; the eighth, Pride; the ninth, Deceit; and Deceit is of two kinds, that which deceiveth others, and that by which we deceive ourselves; and the tenth is Envy, and of this also there be many kinds; and there is no one disorder of the soul greater than Ignorance, for it is the soul's death, as learning is its life; and for this disease is Chess an especial cure, since there is no way by which men arrive more speedily at knowledge and wisdom, and in like manner, by its practice, all the faults which form the diseases of the soul, are converted into their corresponding virtues. Thus, ignorance is exchanged for learning, obstinacy for docility, and precipitation for patience; rashness for prudence, lying for truth, cowardice for bravery, and avarice for generosity; tyranny for justice, irreligion for piety, deceitfulness for sincerity, hatred for affection, enmity for friendship."

The Eighth may be called a social advantage of Chess, bringing men nearer to kings and nobles, and as a cause of intimacy and friendship, and also as a preventive to disputes and idleness and vain pursuits.

"Advantage the Ninth is in wisdom and knowledge, and that wise men do play Chess; and to those who object that foolish men also play Chess; and though constantly engaged in it, become no wiser,

it may be answered, that the distinction between wise and foolish men in playing chess, is as that of man and beast in eating of the tree ; that the man chooses its ripe and sweet fruit, while the beast eats but the leaves and branches, and the unripe and bitter fruit ; and so it is with players at chess ; the wise man plays for those virtues and advantages which have been already mentioned, and the foolish man plays it but for mere sport and gambling, and regards not its advantages and virtues. Thus may be seen one man who breaks the stone of the fruit, and eats the kernel, while another will even skin it to obtain the innermost part ; and in pursuit of knowledge men do likewise. One man is content with the exterior and apparent meaning of the words, nor seeks its hidden sense ; and this is the man who eats the fruit and throws away the kernel. Another desires to be acquainted with the secret and inmost meaning, that he may enjoy the whole benefit of it, and he is like unto the man who takes out the very oil of the nut and mixes it with sugar, and makes therewith a precious sweetmeat which he eats, and throws away the rest. This is the condition of the wise man and the foolish man in playing Chess."

The Tenth and last Advantage is in combining war with sport, the *utile* with the *dulce*, in like manner as other philosophers have put moral in the mouths of beasts and birds and reptiles, and encouraged the love of virtue and inculcated its doctrines by allegorical writings, such as the Marzähán Námah and Kahlah wa Dimnah, under the attractive illusion of fable.

All these so-called Advantages of Chess are expounded at very great length in the original, and the maxims and reasoning are all attributed to the philosopher or wise man (Hakím) who invented the Complete Chess. One of the divisions is preceded by the words "The Philosopher again presented himself and said," by which he might appear to be explaining the beauties of his invention to some king or patron ; a favourite medium for instruction in Eastern apologue.

We now arrive at the most valuable section, treating of the rules and practice of the larger game. This portion is fortunately complete to a very great extent, but as the description of the rules partakes much of the irregularity of other parts of the work, it seems preferable to reduce its details to a consistent whole, collecting and arranging in a more connected form all the particulars which are supplied in the less logical distribution of the original.

The Complete Chess is played with fifty-six pieces on a board of a hundred and ten squares in ten rows of eleven each, with two additional squares, making in all a hundred and twelve. "The Abridged Chess," observes the author, "was reduced to sixty-four squares and

thirty-two pieces, and in this one respect more than in any other resembles the Complete Chess, the alterations generally being made for the worse. One of the advantages of the larger board is, that the king is in the midst of his army and surrounded by his own men, and thus is more protected than in the small chess-board, in which he must be nearer one side than the other, as there is no middle to eight."

Of the fifty-six pieces there are eleven different denominations. Each side has twenty-eight men, viz., a King, Wazir, Ferzín, two Zaráfahs, two Dabbábahs, two Taliáh, two Horses, two Elephants, two Camels, two Rukhs, and eleven Pawns¹.

The manner of placing the pieces admits of a double arrangement, distinguished, according to a favourite practice in Eastern writers of applying grammatical terms to all systems, into the Masculine and Feminine arrangement. The former is exhibited by a diagram in the manuscript, from which, corrected by the description in the text, it is copied on the annexed plate. The Feminine arrangement, as described also in the work, is here added on the same board, though, naturally, both sides would be placed alike for playing. Hyde arranges them quite differently in his plate, which, though it professes to be copied from a MS. of Arabshah's work, may be presumed to be incorrect in many particulars, as it does not even give the two projecting squares, but only a plain square figure. The board is also, without authority, augmented to one hundred and thirty squares.

The Moves are of three kinds, the Straight (Mustakím), Oblique (Muáwwaj), and Mixed (Murakkab). A further division, according to their powers, is into the beginning, middle, and end of each kind of move (Ibtidá, Wast, and Niháyat). Thus, the Wazir, Dabbábah, and Rukh are the beginning, middle, and end, that is, the first, second, and third degree of strength, of the Straight move. The Ferzín, Píl, and Taliáh, occupy similar places in the Oblique movement, and the Asp, Jamal, and Zaráfah, form the like gradation of the Mix

¹ The names and properties of these pieces are fully explained by Hyde; also in a small work called the History of Chess, &c., pp. 90 to 121, by the Rev. R. Lambe, published in 1764, and again, anonymously, in the following year.

The corruption of the original names of the Chess-men retained in the European game, occasions a little difficulty in referring to them in connection with those additional pieces for which there is no such familiar translation. To call by its proper name of *Elephant*, the Píl (our Bishop), might cause it to be confounded with our *Castle* (the Rook, or Rukh), frequently imaged in our sets as a castellated Elephant. *Queen* is also a term singularly inappropriate to Eastern chess, yet it is almost impossible to avoid it in the expression "to queen," in the play of the Pawns, which necessarily introduces the name of *Queen* for the piece itself. I have in some instances paired the terms of both systems, in such a

A more particular description of each of these pieces and of its rules of action presents some difficulties, but what is gathered from the treatise in the original may be reduced to system thus:—

The Wazir is in form like the Ferzín. It moves one square at a time, in four directions, but straight, not obliquely. Thus, if it desires to move on a diagonal square, it can only do so at twice. The Ferzín cannot go on more than half the squares of the board, but the Wazir, having a straight move, can be placed on all the squares; "which shows the great honour and advantage attached to rectitude of conduct."

The Dabbábah in form is like an inkstand¹ (Dawáti), six-sided, and on the top it has a knob, as an inkstand has. There are two of these pieces on each side, whereas of Wazir and Ferzín there is only one on each. Its move is like that of the Píl, in four directions, but straight instead of diagonal, and it has the same advantage over the Píl, its corresponding power in the oblique moving pieces, that the Wazir has over the Ferzín, viz, that of being able to go on every square of the board.

Of the Rukh it is said:—"Its form and movement are perfectly well known, and it has the same advantages as those already mentioned, that is, of the Straight over the Oblique."

The Ferzín and Píl are the two lower powers of the Oblique; "their move is well known²."

manner, however, as to leave them still intelligible to any chess-player. In describing the Complete Chess, I have retained all through its proper terms, either in Persian or English, as Horse or Asp for our Knight, Elephant or Píl for Bishop, Ferzín for Queen, &c.; but where merely general principles are discussed, and in the explanation of Positions in the Short Game, I have used the terms familiar to European players. This applies also to the names for the greater and lesser form of board, varying with the works quoted, or the bearing of the argument.

¹ Some figures of Eastern chessmen are exhibited by Hyde, pp. 123-4, which may assist the comparison. An Oriental inkstand is engraved in Herbin's *Traité de Calligraphie*, 4to.

² The moves described in the MS. as "well known," differ in many respects from those of the corresponding pieces in our game. The piece we call Queen moves only one square at a time, and always diagonally, like our Bishop, to which consequently it is inferior in power, and is, in fact, the weakest on the board. The Píl, or Bishop, moves two squares diagonally, but commands only the square to which he plays, and not the intervening square, which may even be filled by another piece without affecting the move. The other chess-men have the same power as those of our game, except that the Pawns never advance more than one square at a time. The diagram, fig. 1 in pl. ii., will further exemplify the moves.

For these rules, which are not found in any Oriental treatise, and can only be obtained from an attentive examination of their examples of games and positions, I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Duncan Forbes, who, in addition to his varied and profound literary acquirements, is well known to his friends as an ingenious and accomplished chess-player.

"The Taliáh in form is like the Píl, with two faces, and its move is like that of the Rukh; for it can go from one end of the board to the other, in the manner of the Píl (that is, angularly); but it cannot jump over any piece, as is also the case with the Rukh, for no Niháyat (or highest power), whether Taliáh, Rukh, or Zaráfah, can jump over another piece." The Taliáh's move seems, therefore, that of our Bishop.

Of the Mixed moves, that of the Horse is known. The Jamal is in form like a camel, with a head and neck and hump, but it has no forepaws nor hind feet, like the other pieces; and, like the Píl, it can move on but few of the squares.

The Zaráfah, which is the highest power of the Mixed move, is in form like the Knight, with two faces. It moves in eight directions, like the Knight, on one square, but has not the move of the Knight or Jamal. The Knight's move is known, and the Jamal has one square more than it¹.

To the description of the pieces and their laws of movement are appended, in the original, three *Conditions*, applying only to the Niháyat, or last power of each move, without affecting the other two in each class, viz,—

1st. That the Rukh (or Straight End) can move like its Beginning and Middle, the Wazír and Dabbábah, and has therefore the privilege of using every possible Straight move.

2nd. The Taliáh cannot move like its Beginning, the Ferzín, but may move like its Middle, the Elephant. The third condition is, that the Zaráfah cannot move like its Beginning, the Horse, nor like its Middle, the Camel.

The Pawns differ materially from those in the modern game. They seem to bear the form of the pieces they severally precede, or rather, probably, a resemblance to it. One Pawn, however, has the shape of a common Chess-Pawn, and is called the Original Pawn (Piyádahí Asl). It is placed on the left hand of each player before his Queen's Rook. All these Pawns move straight and take obliquely, as ours do, but, on arriving at the other extremity of the board, obtain the rank of the piece to which they belong, and not according to the absurd rule (says the author) of Abridged Chess,

¹ The moves of the Camel and Zaráfah present difficulties which our present resources do not enable us to explain. The Mixed Move evidently resembles that of the Knight, as combining the Straight and Oblique movement, and the proportionate strength of the two more powerful pieces in that class may be inferred to be the privilege of clearing a greater number of squares, but to what extent, is a subject for further inquiry.

where they all become Ferzins; "for," he says, "what is more natural or just than that men should occupy the station of their predecessors, and that the son of a king should become a king, and a general's son attain the rank of general?"

Peculiar privileges attend the success of the piece called Original Pawn on reaching the extremity of the board. It does not, indeed, become immediately a Queen, nor does it assume the name and functions of any other piece, but continues to be a Pawn, being permitted, once in the game, to remove to any square on the board where it may be placed to the greatest advantage and do the most injury to the adversary, as by attacking two pieces at once, making what is termed Pilbend, or Ferzimbend¹; and it would appear that if there be a piece on the square it desires to occupy, that piece may be removed, and the privileged Pawn be placed there. It then continues to move and take like a Pawn, and when it again arrives at the further extremity, it is again allowable to do with it as before, and it is then called King's Pawn. Should it once more reach the further end, it is called Sháhí Masnúâ, and moves as a King. In Ibn Arabshah's description of the pieces, the Original Pawn is called Baidac ul Baidac, Pawn's Pawn, and by Hyde translated "*Pedes Peditis, seu Servus servorum.*" The powers of this Original Pawn have, in the system described in this manuscript, much connection with the use of the projecting squares in the board, which seem intended as places of refuge for the King when in distress, so that, if he is able to retire into one of them, he escapes further danger, and draws the game. There is a short chapter, which is the last portion in this work on the practice of the Complete Chess, relating to the Drawn game and its varieties, but, as the rules applying to it are rather to be gathered from general observation, it will be preferable to discuss the subject separately, when we consider some other terms of the art in a later section of this essay.

After the description of the Great or Complete Chess, the historical argument is resumed, and the reasons given for its abridgement and alteration in India. The first reason, which the author considers preferable to the other two, is the desire of an Indian king, named Kaid², fond of war, and constantly victorious, till there remained no kingdom for him to conquer. As a substitute for this royal amusement, his vizir, Sahsabah ben Dáhir, who was acquainted

¹ See later, where these terms are treated of.

² كيد A king of Canúj, of this name, is said to have been contemporary with the Alexander the Great of Persian history.

^c with the Great Chess as introduced from Persia, abridged it, to diminish its difficulties, and presented it to the king. Then the well-known story is given of the reward asked in grain, and the king's admiration of the wonders of geometrical progression.

The second story is also of an Indian king, Fúr (Porus), leaving as heir to his throne a young son, who, being surrounded by enemies and unskilled in war, was instructed in military tactics by means of Chess, simplified so as to suit his juvenile capacity.

The third, as the narrator observes, is the account given in the Shah Námah, of a queen who had two sons, Talhand and Gaw, the elder of whom is killed fighting against his brother, and the sad news intimated to the mother by the words "Sháh Mát" ("the king is dead"), while playing Chess with her minister. This, the author says, is the best known story, but prefers the other two; and he adds, that some have assigned one or other of these reasons as being those of the original invention of the game; but he argues that in that case it would have been subsequent to its abridgement, for that all agree that Sahsahah ben Dáhir was the person who *abridged* chess.

The next chapter is entitled "How the Abridged Chess came into Persia," but here, unfortunately, the manuscript is again defective, and in the next fragment, which seems the conclusion of the mutilated chapter, we find Nushirwan playing at the Abridged Chess, which he has just received in its modified state.

At this interesting period of the narrative the author, rather abruptly, proceeds to the "Description of the Abridged Game," commencing it with a chapter on the respective value of the pieces; "because," he says, "until this is properly understood, a man cannot play chess." The calculation is ingeniously made in money, as in some of our treatises, but the proportions are laid down with much greater nicety. Thus, after stating that the Rook is worth one dirhem¹, the Knight four danks, the Queen half a dirhem, or, according to some, two danks and a half, he tells us the Pawns, one with another, are valued at a single dank, but that the side Pawns, as of inferior importance, are worth only half a dank, and the King's and Queen's Pawns a dank and a half each. A distinction also is made in the value of the Bishops, that on the Queen's side being worth more than the other, for reasons connected with Pilbend and Fersínbend, requiring further illustration. The King has no price, or

¹ A Dirhem, or silver piece, in Muhammedan money, is usually calculated to be worth about sixpence, and to be divided into four Danks.

rather is beyond price, from his rank and station. Here the subject is again interrupted by the loss of a leaf in the manuscript, and the next chapter is on the "Degrees of Odds" (Tarh), or the advantage given by one player to another. A great knowledge of the game is displayed in the nicety of the gradation, ascending from the lowest possible odds given, to the highest reasonably asked. The smallest advantage consists, as with us, in having the first move, which, otherwise, is said usually to be decided by throwing dice. Next to this, and a less advantage than giving a Pawn, is removing the Knight's Pawn and placing it before the Rook's Pawn, which thus becomes doubled, while the Knight is left exposed. This is considered as giving half a Pawn. Next the Rook's Pawn is given, then the Knight's Pawn, then the Bishop's Pawn, the Queen's Pawn, the King's Bishop, the Queen's Bishop, the Queen; after which the odds are those of the Queen and Pawn, the Knight, the Rook; "and the person to whom both Rook and Knight are given as odds, they do not count as a chess-player, for the Rooks in chess are as the two hands, and the Knights as the two feet, and what would be said of the bravery of him who would fight another man who is deprived of a foot or an arm, or who should propose single combat on the terms of his adversary having one leg or one hand bound, with which advantage it would be shameful to attack him, and victory itself be inglorious?"

In this part of the work I am inclined to place the paintings, for reasons which will be easily understood by those who inspect the manuscript itself, although the more natural arrangement would seem to be either at the beginning or end of the volume. On the reverse of the last painting is the commencement of a chapter on drawn games (*Bábí Cáimbhá*) which, besides that it recapitulates many of the subjects already discussed, could not possibly, from its contents, be supposed to be the commencement of the work.

Cáim is described as a drawn game, or situation in which neither party can win, from the equality of the pieces opposed to each other at the end, and the requisite proportion of forces necessary to constitute a Draw is accurately stated. A term called *Irá*, which includes our varieties of Check by Discovery, Double Check, &c., is explained on another fragment, and this, according to the arrangement which I infer, is to be considered the last leaf of the present contents.

With respect to the age of the manuscript, it may be assumed to be at least five hundred years old, both from the character and from some peculiarities of orthography, but the style claims a much higher

degree of antiquity for the work itself¹. The paintings are well worthy of attention for their execution and subject. They are ~~sixty~~ two in number, and illustrate so many celebrated positions either for mates or for drawn games, though the first four are rather openings. These are called Halili, Janáh, Mujannahí Temám, and Muállac, terms, the application of which I shall endeavour to illustrate later from other sources. With the exception of these, and another opening called Muwassat, and one position which is not distinguished by its title, the various mates and drawn games are all referred to the players to whom they severally occurred. The names of twenty different chess-players, from all countries known to the East, appear among the authors of these games; Khalíl of Misr (Egypt); Adali of Rúm (or Rumelia), Farazdac Yúání, a Greek; Rabrab Khatáí, the Khalif Mútasim, Osmán of Damascus, and Abúl Fath of Hindustan. All the others, whose country is designated, are Persians of different provinces. Two of these names explain the meaning of terms occurring in the Arabic work quoted by Hyde, in which are mentioned the positions called Adali and Rabrab. The first he translates "The Equal Position," and the other is interpreted by him as "The Herd of Wild Oxen." They are evidently named after their authors, Adali of Rúm, one of the most celebrated chess-players and writers on the game, who is much quoted in a work noticed later, and Rabrab, apparently a native of Chinese Tartary, of whom two positions are given in these paintings, and several also occur in other places. After these two names, and that of the Khalif Mútasim, to whom two positions are ascribed, the only personage of whom we have any historical account is Khájah Ali Shatranji, so called from his celebrity in connection with the game. He was also a distinguished poet, a native of Mawarannehr, and his life is given in many of the native biographies, or Tazkirahs, with selections from his poetry, in which, however, we do not find any illustrations of the game to which he owes his surname, nor do the memoirs of him intimate his skill further than by the metaphorical allusions to Chess, by which, in some authors, his life is prefaced. Another player, called Shatranji, or *the Chess-*

¹ Al Rázi, quoted in the preface, died A.H. 310 or 320 = A.D. 922 or 932, which date is the only limit we can assign to the age of the MS.

² De situ lusuum, p. 135. "(Thema) Primum vocatur منصوب العدلي *Thema Adali*, i.e. *sequale*, eo quod Lusori incidat لوقوعه له مع العدلي *Thema Al Rabrab*, i.e. *Agmen boum sylvestrium*."

player, to denote his excellence in the game, is found in this list as the author of several positions, but the name itself is difficult to determine from the manuscript. None of the other personages are distinguished by titles or particulars sufficiently precise to fix their identity.

The following list exhibits their names, with the exception of one which is not deciphered with certainty, and the figures denote the proportion in which each has contributed to the Positions and Openings:—

جلال الدين نخبواني	Jeláluddín of Nakhjawán. 1.
خليل مصري	Khalíl of Misr (Egypt). 1.
عدي رومي	Adali Rúmí (probably Greek). 5.
فرزدق يوناني	Farazdac Yunáni (Greek of Asia Minor). 7.
ربرب خطائي	Rabrab of Khatay (Chinese Tartary). 2.
خواجه علي شطرنجي	Khájah Ali Shatranji, already noticed,
" "	18, also another player, called Sha-
" "	tránji, whose name appears to be
" "	Surkh(?) (سرخ), 5.
خواجه مسعود تبريزي	Khájah Masûd of Tabríz. 2.
محمود كرمانى	Mahmúd of Kirmán. 2.
عثمان دمشقى	Osmán of Damáscus. 1.
خليفة معتصم	The Khalíf Mûtasim (who reigned
	from A. H. 833 to 842). 2.
خطاب عراقي	Khattáb of Irac. 1.
عبد الله خوارزمي	Abdullah of Khárizm. 2.
محمد كازروني	Muhammed of Kázrún. 2.
شمس كرمانى	Shams of Kirman, 1.
حاجي نظام شيرازي	Háji Nizám of Shiraz. 2.
ابو الفتح هندوستانى	Abúl Fath of Hindustan. 2.
بها الدين شيرازي	{ Beháuddín and Jemáluddín, both of
جمال الدين شيرازي	
	Shiraz, and a player of Misr (Egypt),
	whose name appears to be Farún
	(فرعون), each 1.

* The Persian MS. of the Museum¹ is an interesting little treatise, compiled by one Muhammed Ben Husámu'ddaulah for the Emperor Humayun, chiefly from an Arabic work, *Al Manhaj fi ilmi'l Shatranj*², or the "Guide to the Knowledge of Chess," by Abú Muhammed ben Omar Kajiná. Though devoted exclusively to the Short Game, it gives more practical views on each division of the subject than any other native work we possess.

This MS. contains sixty-two leaves, numbering ten lines to a page. The first ten pages are Preface, commencing with the praise of the Deity under his different attributes, with ingenious applications to the terms of the game of Chess.

The author then states his work to be a "Description of Chess and its advantages, with the reason of its invention, and a relation of sayings in regard to its lawfulness and unlawfulness," in regard to its being unlawful, because all games are equally forbidden³, and because those who play Chess are constantly absorbed in it, and indulge in swearing, and neglect prayer and other duties; while in favour of its being lawful are cited the examples of many of the Companions and Followers of the Prophet, who have either played chess, or have seen others play, and not forbidden it. "In truth," says the author, "Chess was not invented for sport, but for a higher object and with sounder views, and its lawfulness or unlawfulness depends on the intention." This opinion he supports by arguments similar to those already exhibited in the analysis of the last work, and apparently copied and abridged from it: "And at all times, powerful and illustrious kings and sultans have been inclined to chess-play, and have enjoined the composition of works for teaching it. This, however, has not been easy to effect, as it is a science without limit of perfection, or fixed bounds, but each one of its professors has laboured according to his knowledge and skill, and has composed a short treatise on it, such as Ustád Adali, and Abú Bekr Al Súli, and Abúl Muzaffar Lejláj, and other celebrated masters" This leads the author to the subject of his own book and its abridgement from the *Manhaj*, as already mentioned, of which he has retained, he says, all the original matter, with many additions of his own, and omitted only a few of the Arabic chapters, containing some *Casidáhs* on Chess, or otherwise not immediately relating to the game. The table of contents is thus given:—

¹ Presented by Major Yule, and numbered 151.

² كتاب المنهج في علم الشطرنج

³ كل لعب حرام

Ch. I. An account of some of the Companions and Followers of the Prophet, who played Chess.

Ch. II. Arguments in favour of the lawfulness of Chess, and on its benefits.

Ch. III. Some other advantages of Chess.

Ch. IV. Of the inventor and invention of the squares at Chess.

Ch. V. Derivation of the terms used in the game.

Ch. VI. On the practice of politeness in Chess-play.

Ch. VII. Advice to Chess players.

Ch. VIII. On the knowledge of the end of the game, whether it is won or drawn.

Ch. IX. On opening the game.

Ch. X. On some amusing games which have been played.

Ch. XI. Positions and their explanation.

Ch. XII. On playing Chess without seeing the board.

The first chapter exhibits the names of Companions and Followers of the Prophet, and other holy personages of Islam, as the Imam Jâfar Sâdic, Shâbi, Musan Basri, Sâid ben Jubair, &c., all more or less affording support to chess-play by their presence or favourable opinion, and some even by their practice of it, as Abdullah Masûd; of Sharr ben Sâd, who had a son possessing great skill in the game, and who one night seeing the Prophet in a dream, asked him concerning its lawfulness, and received for answer, that "there was no harm in it." One of the Shaikhs of Medinah reported Sâid ben al Musaiab to have looked on while chess was playing, and even to have given advice, "Take with the Rukh" Omar al Khattâb said, "There is no harm in it, it is a reminiscence of war." Lastly, Ali's inquiry concerning chess play is recorded, the story of which is well known¹.

The Advantages related in the 2nd chapter are chiefly in reference to wisdom, and are denied to Nerd, as being a more frivolous pastime and subject to contention.

In Chapter 3rd is related a cure performed by means of chess, by Bûcrât (Hippocrates), on a king who had diarrhœa; and a saying of Jâlinûs (Galen), in favour of Chess, as the most efficient remedy in cases of erysipelas. It describes also a mode of calculating by means of the squares of Chess, which for this purpose are to be augmented by one row, making them nine by eight. The calculation is

¹ Hyde, p. 40. Cap. An Shahludium sit licitum.

to be noted by placing a tamarind stone on the square which marks the product.

As the reason for the invention of Chess, we have in chapter 4 the usual story, that an Indian king desired his wise men to arrange a game representing the tactics of war, and that when all others were at a loss, Sísah (صبيح) ben Dahir al Hindí invented Chess and presented the board; after which the reward was claimed in grain, &c. Another story is, that fourteen Indian sages, after great trouble, invented it for the monarch of that time, another, that it was first arranged in the time of Edris the Prophet. The geometrical progression of the sixty-four squares, on the plan of the grain already alluded to, is computed here at full length, commencing with a Dirhem on the first square, and amounting to two thousand four hundred times the size of the whole globe in gold.

Chapter 5th quotes Shatranj as written either with S or Sh, and with i, or a, and says that Juraini writes it with i.

Various etymologies are also proposed for the word Shatranj or Satranj; *Satran*, two rows (of men), or *Shatran*, the two sides or halves (of the board), white and red, *Shash rang*, the six kinds of men; *Sad ranj* (a hundred cares), from its great anxiety and difficulty; *Saddi ranj* (or properly, *Saddi ranj*), "dispelling grief," and because it was invented to console the queen who lost her son (p. 14), and hence, we are told, the Ferzín is placed by the King's side for the purpose of advising him.

There follows a long digression, in which Ferzín is said to be the Hinduwi for Queen. The remainder of the chapter describes the position of the pieces, and the reason for so placing them. Among others, the origin of the Rukh is given, which will be better quoted in another place; also the value of the pieces, which it might be well to compare with the same subject in other Eastern treatises.

Ch. 5th. "On the rules of politeness in Chess," which are here laid down with very great exactness, commencing even at the placing of the board and men. "He who is lowest in rank is to spread the board and pour out the men on it, and then wait patiently till his superior has made his choice, then, he who is inferior may take his own men and place all of them except the King, and when the senior in rank has placed his own King, he may also place his, opposite to it. If of equal rank, whichever first gets the men may place them," &c.

The stronger player is recommended to give fair odds, so as to make the game equal, without which there would be no pleasure.

Rule 3 recommends the observance of politeness, both in question

and answer, and in reproof, and to avoid all foolish talk and idleness.

4. Enjoins any third person present to keep silence while looking on, and to abstain from remarks on the state of the game, or from advice to the players.

5. Cautions an inferior, or servant playing with a superior in rank, or with his master, not wilfully to neglect the game, make his moves carelessly, nor underplay himself that his senior may win, and gives anecdotes of the Khalifs Mámún and Walíd Abdúl Malik Merwán severely reproofing their courtiers for such ill-placed obsequiousness.

"They say, the Khalif Mámún was one day playing with one of his courtiers, who moved negligently and in a careless manner. The Khalif perceived it and got wroth, and turned over the board and men, and said, 'He wants to deceive me and to practise on my understanding,' and he vowed an oath that this person should never play with him again." In like manner, it is related of Walíd ben Abdúl Malik ben Merwán, that on an occasion when one of his courtiers, who used to play with him negligently at chess, omitted to follow the proper rules of the game, the Khalif struck him a blow with the Ferzín (or Queen) which broke his head, saying, "Woe unto thee! art thou playing chess, and art thou in thy senses?"

Chapter 7th gives advice to players in the conduct of their game, which may be reduced to the following rules, commencing by a recommendation not to play when the mind is engaged with other objects, nor when the stomach is full after a meal, neither when overcome by hunger; nor on the day of taking a bath; nor, in general, while suffering under any pain, bodily or mental. Of the rules which follow, on the practical conduct of the game, some apply peculiarly to the tactics of Eastern Chess, but others are similar to our own. A few of those in the original are omitted, being of little importance, and others condensed, to avoid repetition.

The usual advice is given to play with care; to avoid hurried moves; to look well over the pieces; to be on guard against "check by discovery" (Írá), and to beware of the Bishop's range¹; to keep the King always on the Queen's 2nd, and to take great care of your own Bishops, especially the King's, for that is the Filí Caím².

¹ در عرا منشین در سیر فیل. Verse, probably a quotation.

² فیل قایم. Apparently one of the Bishops of greater value in drawing the game at the end; but I am unable to explain the reason.

"Be careful in playing the Pawns at the commencement, that your adversary may not pass them and complete his opening.

"Open the game on the King's side and not on the Queen's. If possible, do not advance the King's Pawn more than one square, unless the Queen's Pawn be with it, in order that it may go to queen at the end.

"Endeavour to effect even exchanges.

A rule here states at some length the best and worst places for each piece to stand on "The corner is the worst for all the pieces, as affording least range, except for the Rook."

"Avoid choking up your King, and be cautious of exposing him to a discovered check. Beware also of his being approached by any of your adversary's strong pieces, as the Knight or the Rook.

"Should you be able to exchange a Bishop for two Pawns, do not fear to do so, though a Bishop is better than one Pawn, unless the Pawn be able to queen. Next to the centre Pawns, the best is the King's Knight's Pawn.

"Commence as your adversary does, and if he plays his King's Rook's Pawn, play the same, and by all means take care of your King's and Queen's Pawns, for these two are better than a Knight, as some say, and by all are allowed to be better than a Queen.

"Avoid equally stinginess and too great generosity in your game (in exchanging), and use caution and foresight, neither be alarmed, should your adversary take a man gratis, but rather consider how the game may still be won, or drawn."

Directions are given, some unimportant and some not very plain, describing the best mode of clearing a crowded board, and of freeing the King when blocked up, and concluding with the following among others from Al Suli, respecting the best side to open and to finish the game, viz, to commence the opening on the sides, and to finish the game from the King's side, and that towards the end the best play is that of the Rook. "It is related, that in India there was a player who during forty years never had a Pawn taken from him gratis;" but the author observes, "we have never beheld success like this."

Chapter 8th is on the relative force of combined pieces, and of those which, when opposed to each other, produce a drawn game. The instructions are rather complicated, calculating the equivalent even of four Queens at once, and in our imperfect state of knowledge respecting the manner of carrying out the Eastern system, do not present much utility.

"On the opening of the game, which they call *Tābīah* (تأبيه),

and on the different kinds of Tábíahs which professors have invented," the subject of Chapter 9, was intended to be illustrated by diagrams, of which eight are sketched in the MS. Six, however, are blank, and the only two which are filled up and accompanied by description, do not seem properly to be openings. These Tábíahs, or 'openings,' are said to be named after the players who invented them, but none of the names are given.

The "Amusing Games" contained in the 10th Chapter, are similar to the contents of a chapter in another treatise described p. 30.

Chapter 11th, on Mansúbahs, or Positions, gives forty-two diagrams, each, with the explanation, occupying a page. There are examples of all kinds, games won and drawn, &c. Amongst them appears the celebrated position called Dilaram's Mate.

"Red plays and wins"

"Red gives check with his Rook, on the Black King's Rook's square. King takes the Rook. Red removes Bishop¹ to his 5th and discovers check from Rook. Black King to his Knight's square. Rook gives check on Black Rook's square. King takes the Rook. The Pawn advances and checks. King to his Knight's square. Red Knight to Black King's Rook's 3rd, mates." (See pl. III. fig. 1.)

These directions were more concisely given by Dilaram herself in two lines of verse:

"O King, sacrifice your two Rooks and not Diláram;
Advance the Bishop and Pawn, and checkmate with the Knight²."

Chapter 12th and last, is on the art of playing without seeing the board, a degree of skill once considered the exclusive acquirement of the celebrated Philidor, but since exercised by the most distinguished French player of modern times, M. de la Bourdonnais, and now frequently exhibited, and even taught on system by many professors of the game. Similar instances of skill in Arabian players are

¹ Jumping over the Knight, according to the Eastern game. Dilaram's Mate has been published by Mr. G. Walker in the *Palamède*, and in some other Chess periodicals, but I am unable to state from what original Persian source.

By making the mask with the Knight on the Rook's 2nd, the Bishop being already placed on his own 5th, this game may be accommodated to the European system; the play will then be (2nd move) Kn. to his 4th, disc. ch.; the remaining moves as before. Another piece or pawn, of either colour, must also be placed on Black K's 3d, otherwise there would be Mate on the move.

ای شه دورخ بده و دلارام را مده
پهل و پیاده پیش کن جز نسیب شاه مات

* quoted by Hyde, but none that can at all compete with those related in this Persian work, though all of them far exceed the highest degree of perfection to which that branch of the art has yet arrived in modern European chess-play; thus verifying the proverb so often exemplified, that "there is nothing new under the sun," and showing that whatever wonders have been produced by mechanical science in the civilization or demoralization of mankind, mere intellectual powers have accomplished in other nations, and in earlier times, almost every degree of skill which the supposed improvement of the present age seems to claim as an undivided right.

Practical directions for the blindfold game are given in this chapter, which commence by instructing the player in the names of the squares of the board, so as to be able to understand what may be announced to him as his adversary's play, and to direct the movement of his own pieces. He is therefore to picture to himself the board as divided first into two opposite sides, and then each side into halves, those of the King and the Queen, so that when his Náíb, or deputy, announces that "such a Knight has been played to the 2nd of the Queen's Rook," or "the Queen to the King's Bishop's 3rd," he may immediately understand its effect on the position of the game. This mode of playing, however, is not recommended to those who do not possess a powerful memory with great reflection and perseverance, "without which no man can play blindfold." Then follow more detailed instructions for calling the moves and playing them, and there is a diagram to assist the study, numbered according to the names of the pieces and squares. There is also another diagram, blank, said to be for "the ending of the game," but in its state in this MS. it of course admits of no explanation.

The chapter is concluded by the author's observation, that some have arrived to such a degree of perfection as to have played blindfold at four or five boards at a time, nor to have made a mistake in any of the games, and to have recited poetry during the match; and he adds, "I have seen it written in a book, that a certain person played in this manner at ten boards at once, and gained all the games, and even corrected his adversaries when a mistake was made."

The MS. was copied in Rabíá, of the year 1021 (= A.D. 1612), by one Asahh al Kirmáni.

The term Gháíb, or Gháíbánah, to express playing blindfold, or without looking at the board, in distinction from Házir, or Háziránah, the usual mode of play, restores the text in the passage of Arabsshah, where Manger has proposed Al Ghálib for the Al Gháíb of the

edition of Golius: "And Ali sat down and played *alghálíb*, *absent*, that is, blindfold, or, without seeing the board;" not, according to Manger's emendation, *alghálíb*, *victorious*, an epithet which would be prematurely applied to one sitting down to chess, the event being uncertain till he rose.

The Arabic treatise contained in the British Museum Library is named *Al Shatranj ul Basri*, *Basrian Chess*, from Hasan al Basri, its author. The full title of the work is "The Book of Chess, its positions and beauties." The copy was made in the 655th year of the Hijrah (= A.D. 1257), and the work itself may be assumed to be much older. Its object was to instruct the uninitiated in chess, in which, the author says, the greatest monarchs have delighted, and have made it, with other sciences, an essential part of the instruction of their sons. The division prescribed by the author is into "Positions specially connected with Check, Positions not so connected, a Chapter on Drawn Games, and a Supplement of select and elegant moves." These are illustrated by very numerous diagrams, with the mode of play in each explained at full length. There is also a preface, or rather what might be considered the introductory part of the work, occupying the first twenty pages, the remainder being a sort of praxis. This introduction commences with traditions on the lawfulness and unlawfulness of the game, and an imposing array is exhibited of examples of its practice or permission by men of the most undoubted orthodoxy. They are paraded with the same gravity and in the same solemnity of procession as in all other more serious questions of Hadís, and, in many instances, the anecdote embodies only a very trifling incident in connexion with the subject, citing even instances of doctors and divines saluting or returning the salute of those who played, or merely looking on at chess-play, as a testimony at least of their acquiescence in its harmlessness. There is much acuteness in the arguments by which the author labours to remove

وكان يلعب علي الغالب مع خصمين ويعلم مع الطرح لمن هو
 في جهته علي الجهتين The note in Manger's edition, Vol. II. p. 877, adds,
 "Mendosè in Gol. Ed. prostat علي الغاييب Ali ludebat *absens*, quod turbat, pro
 علي الغالب Ali *victoriosus*, qui nunquam in ludo succumberat." Manger, there-
 fore, translates the passage, "Ludebat Ali ille victor cum duobus simul adyer-
 sariis, et monstrabat, cum moveret, quantus esset solus adversus duos."
 مع الطرح is also badly rendered here "cum moveret;" *Tark* signifying not
 a "move," but "advantage given;" a meaning not in our Dictionaries, and
 overlooked by Manger in another passage, p. 874, l. 7.

the objections which attach to chess in common with all other games prohibited by Coranic precept. The following is a specimen of his ingenious reasoning. "If," says the carnist, "a man be so engrossed in the study of law, theology, or even of the holy Coran itself, as to neglect prayer, the offence is great, but consisteth in the neglect of a duty, not in the cause, for who shall say the study of the Coran is unlawful? Or should he be so absorbed in private prayer as not to observe the fixed times of public worship, he offendeth also, but by neglect, not by exceeding in private devotion, which last also is to be commended; and in like manner Chess may be pronounced lawful and innocent unless it interfere with other more important duties, and even then it is the neglect itself, and not the cause of neglect, which is to be condemned." It may be suspected that these worthies of the Muhammedan faith were anxious to protect by their dogmas an amusement which they felt irresistible in its attractions, and that the logic bestowed on chess-play resembles the quibbles in defence of wine-drinking, the evasive Fetwas concerning the use of coffee and tobacco, and the overstrained application of Sufi symbolism to the sensuality of some of their favourite poets.

The first few pages are occupied with this discussion. At page 6 the invention of the game is treated of, but the account is confined to the usual story of Súsah ben Dáhir (thus written), and a sick king to whom he presented the board, receiving his reward in proportion to the progression of the squares, &c. A comparison between Nerd and Chess follows, frequent in works on this subject, and, after it, the philosophical arrangement observed in the places and powers of the different pieces. The remaining part of the introduction touches on most of the subjects already more fully discussed in the preceding Persian treatise, exhibiting little novelty, except that, in the division of players into classes, two new names appear, those of Al Canáf and of Ibn Dendán, both of Baghdad, but to whose further history I have found no clue. As chess-players they are placed here on an equality with Al Adali. From the last-mentioned authority the value of the pieces is fixed in a short concluding chapter, and another, called Báb ul Táábi (Chapter on Openings), introduces the practical part of the work, which occupies the greater portion of the volume, and also seems its chief object.

There are two hundred and fifteen diagrams in all, of which, however, several are blank, though equally accompanied by explanation. They are mostly positions, drawn or won, but at the end occur some of those games which, though not strictly Chess, are derived from it and illustrate the power of particular pieces, or which exercise the

player in their use; similar to those in Major Yule's MS., and in one to be described later, p. 80.

Since the outline of these sheets was first sketched, I have been favoured with the perusal of two Arabic MSS., from the valuable collection of Dr. John Lee, and though they contribute no additional information of any extent on the subject of the Great Chess, they afford many interesting particulars on the practice of the usual game and on some points in connection with it. The more important of these two works on account of its antiquity, though possessing less variety in its details, is named the *Nuzhatu arbābi 'l ūcūl fi 'l shatranji 'l mancūl*, and the author, who calls himself in his preface, *Abū Zakarīa Yahya Ibn Ibrāhīm al Hakīm*, describes it as a book on the invention and arrangement of Chess, compiled from various works. There is no division into chapters, but the usual subjects are discussed in the order observed by most Eastern writers, commencing with arguments in support of the lawfulness of the game, and testimonies in its favour from various writers. Its origin is explained according to the different stories already related in similar works, and among other fables respecting its invention, it is said to have been played first by Aristotle; by Yāfēt ibn Nūh (Japhet, son of Noah); by Sām ben Nūh (Shem); by Solomon, as a consolation for the loss of his son; and even by Adam when he grieved for Abel.

Sayings of kings, sages, and physicians are quoted in praise of chess-play, including examples of some of the earliest Muslim doctors who either practised it or permitted it as harmless.

At the sixth page the classes (*Tabacāt*) of players are enumerated, and of those considered among the *Alīyah*, or highest class, are the names of *Rabrab*, *Jābir*, *Abūl Nāim*, *Al Adali*, and *Al Rāzi*, the first and last of these being superior even to the others. The qualifications of the subordinate classes are also given, but no mention made of particular players among them.

At page 26 the value of the pieces is explained, agreeing in most of its conditions with the rules already quoted on the same subject; also the proportion of forces necessary to draw or win at the end of the game.

An extract from *Al Adali's* work briefly describes the different kinds of Chess, of which the first is called the *Square Chess*

¹ نزهة ارباب العقول في الشطرنج المنقول "The Delight of the Intelligent, in description of Chess-play," MS., No. 146 of Dr. Lee's Catalogue of his Oriental collection, and No. 74 of the New Catalogue.

(الشطرنج المربعة), being the "well-known game attributed to India."

2ndly. "The Complete Chess (التامة), of which the board is 10×10 , with four additional pieces in the same form, called Dabbābah, placed between the King and his Bishop and the Queen and Bishop on each side; their move that of the King, and their value half a dirhem and a third of a dirhem." Probably their value was proportioned to the side on which they stood.

Al Shatranj ul Rūmīyah, which is said to be taken from the Hindīyah or Indian game aforesaid. There is some difference between the powers of its Rook and Knight from those of the common Chess, and the Pawns do not queen, as (from its circular form) the board has no extremity. About seventy diagrams follow, exhibiting positions in the usual game, taken from the works of Al Adalī and Al Sūlī, with explanations, also three others exhibiting the mode of covering all the squares in succession by the Knight's move; the second mode is attributed to Ali ben Manīfā (منيع), and the third to Al Adalī. Memorial lines are given for the rule. About twenty pages of the MS. are then devoted to extracts in verse on Chess, selected from various authors. There is no note of the scribe's name, nor period or place of writing. The copy, however, is evidently of considerable antiquity.

A second Arabic MS. in the same collection is entitled "Anmūzaj ul Catāl," which might be interpreted "Exemplum rei militariæ." It was transcribed in the month Rajab, A.H. 850 = 1446. A short preface, commencing with allusions to Chess and its praise as an amusement of kings and great men, proceeds to the title of the work and its arrangement, which is into an introduction and eight chapters, coinciding with the number of the rows of squares, so that "each Bayt (or house) may have its Bāb (door, or chapter)," also a Khātimah, or Conclusion. The Contents are then enumerated.

The Introduction relates examples, similarly with the treatment of the same subject in other works, of the early Muhammedan doctors, and even of Companions and Followers of the Prophet, who either themselves played chess or were spectators of the game. Some of these are also said to have played (وراء الظاهر) "behind their back,"

¹ كتاب اموزج القتال في نقل العوال No. 147 of the Old Catalogue, and 77 of the New. The author of the Anmūzaj, Ibn Abi Hajlah, composed also the history of Egypt, entitled Sukkerdān, Sugar-Bason. "Ahmed ben Yahya Tihmāni, vulgo Ibn Abi Hejla, ob. 776 = 1374." (Fluegel's Haj. Khalf. 7191.)

i. e., without looking at the board. Conditions are laid down respecting the lawfulness of chess-play, which according to some were three; viz., that the player should not gamble (play for money), nor delay prayer at the appointed times; and that he should keep his tongue from ribaldry and improper conversation. Some of the Shāfi'ah sect made the conditions four: not to play on the road; nor for a stake; nor to talk frivolously; nor to be estranged by it from the times of prayer. The sect of Al Shāfi' seems to have been the only one at all indulgent to chess-play, the other three Imams condemning it absolutely and unconditionally, while Abú Hanífa would not even salute a person playing it, nor return his salutation. The argument is continued on the respective merits of Chess and Nerd as to lawfulness; this chiefly depended on the games being played for money or not, for where both were played for a stake, Chess was by many considered still more blameable than Nerd. The Introduction is concluded by a short chapter on the spelling of the word شطرنج quoting as authorities the Durrat ul Ghawwás', Al Safadi, and others. Shitrauj is stated to be the more correct spelling, but Shatranj said to be the more usual. It is also discussed whether S or Sh should commence the word, and Shatrán, Satrán, Shash rang and Sad ranj, are offered as etymologies in support of the various orthographies.

The 1st Chapter, "On the Invention of Chess," gives five stories, which are mostly those already known from other works; there is, however, one rather different from the usual accounts, relating it to have been invented for certain kings of Hind, who were wise men and unwilling to go to war, and for whom Chess was proposed as a sort of peace-arbitration by which to settle their disputes. Another version is that Nerd having been invented to prove to a king that mankind were slaves of chance, and their actions compulsory, some philosopher arranged the game of Chess to show that destiny was tempered by free will. The usual reward in corn is claimed by the inventor, and a separate section treats of its application in arithmetic, according to different methods. The first is the same given by Ibn Khallican²; a second, with a diagram, is taken from a work called Muházarat ul Uda; another is calculated in dirhems; a fourth,

¹ درة الغواص في إلهام الخواص A grammatical treatise by the celebrated Hariri.

² In the life of Abú Bekr al Súli. See Vol. III. of De Slane's Translation, p. 71.

From the *Durrat ul Muziyah*, in lunar years, and the last, by another author, makes the calculation in distances of miles.

Chapter 2nd divides chess players into the usual five classes, of which the *Aliyah* is said never to contain three in any one age. The *Muta-cáribah*, or second class, is inferior to the *Aliyah* by a Knight's Pawn on the Queen's side, or by a Rook's Pawn; between the 3rd class and the highest there are the odds of a Queen; the 4th receives from the 1st something more than a Queen and less than a Knight; the 5th receives a Knight, and the 6th a Rook, and he who requires greater odds is not considered a player. Two other sections of this chapter describe the respective value of the pieces, and their powers.

Chapter 3rd gives an extract of eight pages from *Al Súli's* work, which it is difficult to abridge without injustice to the importance of its contents. Some of the maxims are those found in our treatises on the game, but there are also many practical rules applying only to Chess as modified by Eastern laws, and very interesting as a specimen of these peculiar tactics. *Al Súli's* instructions are commented by the author who has extracted them, showing in nine pages their illustration from war or history.

Chapter 4th sets forth the qualifications necessary for a chess-player, and especially treats of the proper times and seasons for playing, the best being considered to be when rain falls. The four temperaments¹ are associated with four of the pieces, the King, Queen, Elephant, and Rukh; and Hippocrates and Galen are quoted for cures effected by Chess.

Chapter 5th is anthological, and contains extracts in prose and verse, from various authors, in praise or blame of Chess.

In the 6th chapter the Complete Chess is mentioned, the account of it being taken from the Arabic work last described, or, probably, both from an earlier treatise. Another variety is called *Shatranjī Sâidīyah*, of which the arrangement is said to be similar to the Complete Chess, except that its squares are eight, as in the Indian or common game. In the *Shatranjī Sâidīyah*, the Pawns are not allowed to queen. Other games are the *Shatranjī Memdúdah*, and *Rúmīyah*, of the former of which a diagram is given in the MS.

The second part of this chapter describes several ingenious games and amusements on the chess-board. The first is *Mikhrác ul Rukh*, a trial of skill between two players, with one Rook each; another,

¹ The Warm, the Cold, the Wet, and the Dry, which correspond with the four component parts of the human frame, and are introduced by Arabian doctors into the whole system of Physics.

with the two Knights. In a third, the Rook alone is played against all the Pawns. Two other games are, to take all the Pawns in as many moves with the Knight, the Pawns in one example being placed diagonally across the board. In the *Mikhrác ul Afál*, the Bishops are to take all the men in a certain number of moves; and the last is the *Mikhrác ul Bayáda*, by Al Súli, in which the eight Red Pawns placed on the line of the pieces, are to move, one by one, in four moves of the Knight each, into the corresponding squares on the Black side. A sequel to these games is the well-known problem of the Ship, first as described by Safadi, and then in other varieties. (Hyde, p. 23.)

The chapter following contains anecdotes of Chess, of which those of two blind players, and some others, have been already related by Hyde. The earlier part of the 8th chapter seems wanting, or at least does not correspond with the title; the few poetical extracts given are on the love of travel and its advantages, exemplified by the success of the Pawn, which becomes a chief when he leaves his own country. At the close of each of these eight chapters is found a selection of *Mansúbahs*, in diagram and in explanation, though their distribution in different parts of the treatise does not seem regulated by any intention beyond that of dividing them in portions. The conclusion of the whole work is a *Macámah Shatranjīyah*, in rhetorical prose, similar to that of the celebrated *Macámahs* or Discourses of Hariri, and forming a curious addition to the numerous imitations of that style which have been composed on other subjects. This Chess *Macámah* is dedicated by the author to the Sultan Malik ul Adil, prince of Márdín, and was composed by him as a sequel to another *Macámah* of his in honour of Al Malik ul Násir Hasan.

The *Nefáis ul Funun*¹, or Treasures of Science, a valuable Persian encyclopedia, by Muhammed ben Mahmud al Anuli, has three chapters on Chess, commencing the article "*Der Ilmī Maláib*" (the Science of Games)." In the second chapter five different kinds are described, two of which are unknown to us from any other sources.

¹ The whole title is *نقايس الفنون في عرايس العيون*, interpreted in Baron Hammer-Purgstall's Catalogue of his MSS., in which the work is fully described, "*Der Kenntniss der Kostbarkeiten aus der Quellen Bräuten*," and in English may perhaps be rendered, with a slight paraphrase of the original, "*Treasures of Science from Virgin Sources*." There are copies in the East India House Library, and in the Gore Ouseley collection, and another, slightly imperfect, in the possession of the writer of this note. The part relating to chess is, in some of the copies, so incorrect as to require careful collation with all the others. The chess diagrams found in them are to be followed with still greater caution, many of them not even agreeing with the text.

The first kind is Shatranjī Zawát (Zát?) ul Husún, Castelled Chess. The squares are 10×10 , and at the corners are four additional squares called Hiss, or Fort, into which the King retires when hard pressed, and then nothing can happen to him, unless his way is intercepted so that he cannot move into them. There are four Dababāhs, which seem the only additional pieces; their move is like the Rook's¹, and in this game the Pawn never becomes a Queen. Another Chess is on an oblong board 16×4 . It is played with dice thrown alternately by each player, and the moves are regulated by the throw. If Ace is thrown, a Pawn is to be played; if Deuce, a Rook, Trois, a Knight; Quatre, a Bishop; Cinq, the Queen; Seize, the King. (This appears to be the Shatranjī Memdúdāh of other writers.)

A third Chess is arranged on a round board², and in the middle is a small circle to which the King retires for safety, and in which, as in the first game, nothing can happen to him as long as he remains there. In this game also the Pawn cannot queen; and if two Pawns meet, one takes the other; and so also with the Bishops. These two last games are said to be well known, like the Square Chess (Shatranjī Murabbā).

A fourth kind of Chess, which is also on a circular board, is arranged to resemble the heavens, having seven stars and twelve signs. The signs, which are the spaces between the concentric circles, are divided among the stars according to their mansions, and the moves of each star are proportioned in number to the height of its heaven; so that Saturn has seven squares, and Jupiter six, Mars five, the Sun four, Venus three, Mercury two, and the Moon one.

The Great Chess (Shatranjī Kebír) is the fifth kind named in the Nefáís, and is said to contain, besides other things, a Zaráfah and a Camel³. The encyclopediast excuses himself from entering into a description of its rules, the form of its board, figure of the pieces, and mode of commencing the game, as leading to too great prolixity,

¹ But *بانكران* --i.e., probably with the different power already assigned to them in the Great Chess.

² Ibn Arabshah, p. 877, mentions the Round and Oblong games among the varieties of Chess played at Timur's Court: *ورایت عنده شطرنجیا مداورا* and *شطرنجیا طوبلا* and this Round Board has also been reputed the invention of Timur, as well as the Great Chess Board; both on equally slight authority.

³ A round board, similar to fig. 3, pl. IV., but with pieces differently arranged, is engraved in Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*.

⁴ One MS. has *شیر* a Lion, no doubt a mistake in the points, for *شمر*.

and says he therefore contents himself with giving some Mansúbahs of the "Square Chess, which is well known;" thus depriving us of the assistance we should have had in investigating the still obscure game of Timur.

Of these Mansúbahs about fifteen or sixteen are given, but they present no novelty after those contained in other practical works already mentioned.

There is a chapter on the ethics, or rather, social observances of Chess, from which the following is a selection.

"In India they try a person's fitness for the duties of a Wazír by playing chess in his presence. If he looks on silently, they put confidence in him, but if he gives advice, they consider him wanting in discretion."

"*Rule.* Even if asked to decide a dispute at chess, do not, but say, 'I did not see,' unless attending the match expressly as an arbitrator." Another rule recommends not talking too much at the game, as it disturbs your adversary; also, not to be tediously silent; not to swear at chess; and when play is over, not to touch the men, but to leave them till your adversary sets them for a fresh game; "and if any one asks, 'Who won?' even though you have won all the games, not to say, 'I won;' but, 'I won some, and my opponent some.' In short, so to play chess that it may become a source of love, not a cause of hatred." A wholesome code of social laws, which it would be well to enforce and practise as strictly in our chess-play as the fixed rules of the game itself.

Besides separate treatises on the history and tactics of the game, a favourite subject in Eastern rhetorical composition is the parallel between Chess and Nerd, each having its partisans. At the end of Wassáf's celebrated Persian history¹ is a declamation of this kind, of considerable length, and in a highly ornamented style. The Praise and Blame of Chess are a theme for poets as well as prose writers, and under these heads are usually divided the extracts on this subject in their Anthologies, especially those from Arabic authors. The two following pieces present the two varieties of style, and exhibit both sides of the question. They are from the "Yawákít ul

¹ Commonly known as the *Tárikhí Wassáf*, but the proper title is *"جزية الامصار وترجئة الاعصار"* by Abdallah Fazlullah, surnamed Wassáf'ul Hezrat.

- * Mawānīt, "a valuable Arabic work in the collection of Baron Hammer-Purgstall at Vienna".

The first of these, in Praise of Chess, is from the Diwan of the poet Ibn ul Mutāzz, and is quoted in the anthology referred to, as the best of all similar compositions. The following free translation of it exhibits perhaps its spirit rather than its beauties. The passage in Blame of Chess is in prose, and the text of both is given in the note¹.

In Praise of Chess, by Ibn ul Mutāzz.

O thou whose cynic sneers express	the censure of our favourite Chess !
Know that its skill is science's self,	its play distraction from distress.
It soothes the anxious lover's care,	it weans the drunkard from excess ;
It counsels warriors in their art,	when dangers threat and perils press ;
And yields us, when we need them most,	companions in our loneliness.

Censure of Chess.

"The Chess player is ever absorbed in his Chess and full of care, swearing false oaths and making many vain excuses; one who careth only for himself and angereth his Maker! 'Tis the game of him who keepeth the fast only when he is hungry, of the official who is in disgrace; of the drunkard till he recovereth from his drunkenness: and in the Yatimat ul Dehr it is said, Abul Cásim al Kesrawi hated Chess and constantly abused it, saying, You never see a Chess-player rich, who is not a sordid miser, nor hear a squabbling that is not on a question of the Chess-board."

¹ "Rubinen des Zarten im Lobe und Tadel jedes Dinges," by Al Saalabi. Hammer-Purgstall's Handschriften, No. 11.

باب مدح

احسن ما قيل فيه قول ابون المتعز رحمه الله
يا عايب الشطونج من جهله * وليس للشطونج من بأس *
في نهها علم وفي لعب * شغل عن الغيبة للناس *
وتذهله العاشق عن عشقه * وصاحب الكلاس عن الكلاس *
وصاحب الحوب بتدبيرها * يزدان في الشدة والبأس *
واهلها من حسن آدابها * من خير اصحاب وجلاس *

The variety of historical anecdotes of Chess in the East may be conceived from the number of their great men who made it their study. Charlemagne, in the European annals of chess-play, is said to have staked his empire on a single game; but a still more extraordinary wager is recorded between the celebrated Harun and his wife Zubaidah, which influenced even the succession to the Khalifate¹. There is also a curious anecdote respecting the same prince, which, if authentic, adds a new feature to the romantic history of the Bermekides, and connects Chess with the reason of their disgrace and downfall.

It has often been stated that one of the causes of Jâfar's fall, the last of his house who enjoyed honour and power under its fickle patron, was in connection with his marriage with Abbâsiah, the sister of the Khalif. The reason usually given for Al Rashîd's consent to a marriage so much inferior to the rank of the beautiful princess, and which was fraught with such dangerous happiness to the young bridegroom, has been assigned to be the Khalif's desire to remove the inconvenience of his sister's occasional visits to the royal apartments, where Jâfar, as Minister, was frequently in attendance; but the motive assigned for it in the following anecdote has not, I believe, been published.

"Al Rashîd was devoted to the game of Chess, and he had a sister, called Abbâsiah, who played well. Now Jâfar used to beat Al Rashîd (at chess); as his sister also did, and it was Al Rashîd's wish to see which of the two (Jâfar or Abbâsiah) would prove superior, in his presence. Then he said to Jâfar, 'I will give thee (my sister)

باب ذم

قيل ان صاحبه ابدا مشغول مهموم بحلف بالله كاذبا ويعتذر
مبطلاً ويسلم نفسه ويسخط ربه وفي لعب الصائم اذا جاع والعامل
اذا عزل والمخمور حتي يفيق وفي كتاب يتيمة الدهر ان ابا
القاسم الكسروي كان يبغض الشطرنج ويدمها ويقول لا تري
شطرنجيا غنيا الا بخيلا دنيا ولا تسمع نادرة بادرة الا على
الشطرنج

¹ It is to be found, in translation, in Von Hammer's *Rosencel*, 2nd vol., or *Flaschchen*. The story is too long for insertion here, and would suffer by abridgement.

° Abbásiah in marriage, on condition that thou approach her not, except by my command and appointment;’ and Al Rashíd sent for the Cádhi, and he wrote Abbásiah’s marriage contract with Jâfar: and Abbásiah used to sit with Jâfar, whether Al Rashíd was present or not, and used to play with him¹.”

We have seen in the tales of the Thousand and One Nights the young prince, when transformed into a monkey, play Chess with the king, his patron². In the Jâmi’ ul Hikáyât, a monkey plays chess with the son of his master, a Kutwál in India, and quarrelling about the game, kills him with a blow of the board, thus furnishing a ludicrous parallel to the numerous Chess homicides, especially among royal players, in the histories of the West³.

‘ وكان الرشيد مغرباً بلعب الشطرنج وكان [له أخت] يقال لها العباسية وكانت تلعب ملبج و كان جعفر يغلب الرشيد كما [أخته] و مراده [لبري] من يغلب قدامه فقال أزوجه العباسية بشرط انك لا تقرب اليها الا بامري و علي واحضر القاضي واجري نكاحها عليه وصارت تقعد مع جعفر ان كان الرشيد حاضرا لا وتلعب الشطرنج معه *

This interesting anecdote, both in text and translation, was kindly communicated to me by the Rev. G. Hunt, of Plymouth. It is taken from one of the numerous MSS. containing anecdotes of Harún, and the imperfections of the copy, as shown by the inclosure of brackets, have been supplied by Mr. Hunt himself, as well as the following note:—“The MS. reads يغلبه (3rd line), which cannot be right. For if Harun only wanted to know whether Jafar or Abbasiah was a better player than himself, he could ascertain that without bringing Jafar and Abbasiah together in his presence. Both beat him, and what he wished to see was which of the two would beat the other, and this could not be unless they met, and they could not meet, according to Oriental etiquette, unless married.”

* In the “Story of the Second Royal Mendicant,” according to Lane’s translation. It is to be regretted that Mr. Lane has not taken an opportunity of bestowing on us, from his extensive resources of learned research and practical experience, some detailed information on the present or former practice of Chess in Egypt. In a Note (67), the game is said to be “played somewhat differently in different parts of the East.”

³ Pepin’s son killed the son of King Ottocar of Bavaria in this manner. The story, as related by Selenus of Lunenburg, and repeated in the poem *Quirinalia*, in the twelfth century, is cited, with numerous similar anecdotes from

The caution against indulgence in foolish and even improper conversation during chess-play, recited in some of the preceding pages as Ethics of Chess, seems not to have been an unnecessary precept. A memoir of Imādī, in the Atesh Kedah, affords a proof of its gross violation, and supplies the subject of an epigram by that poet. As a specimen of a more inoffensive style of wit during chess-play, the following humorous anecdote has been contributed by the same valued correspondent from whom I received the quotation in page 36.

"It is said that two men were playing chess, when a person present observed that one of the players was in check. Then he said to him, 'Cover it,' but as soon as he had said to him 'Cover it,' up started the player and rushed suddenly upon him with a huge fist, and thrust him away. Then he said, 'God has made you witnesses against him, that he intermeddled with my dignity.' The other replied, 'And what is it I have said about your dignity?' The first answered, 'You said to me *Ustur* (Cover), and I do not allow this; for if it be mispronounced, it becomes *Ushtur*, and *Ushtur* in the Persian language means, 'Camel;' and *Jamal* (Camel), if mispronounced, becomes *Hamal* (Aries), and *Hamal* is a constellation in the heavens; and there is associated with it a constellation called *Zul Carnain* (the two-horned, viz., Capricorn), and so he made me out to be a Ram' (i.e. Olens, or Cornutus). Then they who were present laughed¹."

the early Chronicles, by Sir Frederick Madden, in his learned "Historical Remarks on the Introduction of the Game of Chess into Europe," &c., in the *Archæologia*, Vol. XXIV. 1832.

A monkey also plays chess in a story related in the *Palamede*, Vol. I. 1836—"Le Singe et le Gascon."

قيل إن رجلاً كانا يلعبان بالشطرنج فنظر رجل من
المتفرجين يان واحد عليه كش فقال له استر فلما قال له استر
نهض وبدرة بكف عظم ولقطه من اطرافه وقال اللهم شاهدكم
عليه بانه دخل في عرضي فقال له وما الذي قلت في عرضك
فقال له قلت لي استر ولم اقبل لانها ان صغيت تصير
اشتر واشتر بلسان الفارسي يطلق علي الجدل والجدل ان صغناه

Chess is also a sign in Eastern dreams, and has its appropriate interpretation in their *Tábir Námahs*, or Dream-books. In a Turkish work on this subject¹, I find it to portend "a foolish and vexatious undertaking," and in a chapter of the *Nefáís ul Funún*, already quoted, which treats of Dreams, it is said that to dream of playing Chess announces dispute on vain subjects; and if one dream that he beats his adversary at Chess (or at Nerd), it signifies that he will have success in vain undertakings. The *Nuzhat ul Culúb*, in the 4th chapter, "*Maláhi*" (Amusements), says that to behold *Shatranj* or *Nerd* signifies "vain undertakings, deceit, and treachery."

Of poetic specimens, some are in the form of riddles on Chess. The following, in Persian, is the composition of *Ziál*, a poet of *Ardúbád*. It forms a *Casidah* or ode, in praise of *Shah Gharíb Mirza*, son of *Hussain Mirza Baicara*, and though the allusions rather too plainly disclose the subject of the enigma, the author has shown ingenuity in the manner in which he has turned it to the compliment of his patron².

قصیدهء لغز شطرنج

در مدح شاه غریب میرزا

ای دل کدام عرصه درین کشور آمده

کز خیل روم و زنگ در آن لشکر آمده

خیل غریب و قوم عجیبی که در مصاف

بی تیغ و تیر در سر یکدیگر آمده

هر یک دو اسبه رانده بجمع پادگان

کایشان سپاه را بوغا رهبر آمده

یصیر حمد والحمد نجم فی السما وبقارنه نجم یقال له ذو القرنین

جعلنی عرصاً فضحکوا الحاضریں

¹ تعبیّر نامه printed at Constantinople, A.H. 1206 = 1791.

² *Ziál* (ضیای) according to the *Atesh Kodah*, came from his native place, *Ardúbád*, to *Herat*, and entered the service of the celebrated *Emír Ali Shír*. After the fall of the *Gúrgán* power, he fled from *Khurasan* to *Azarbaijan*, and died at *Tabriz* in that province, A.H. 927 (A.D. 1520). *Ziál* was chiefly a lyric writer.

با شاه خویشتن به یکرنگ و یکجهت
 خصم افکن و سپهسکن و صفدر آمده
 در معرکه به پشتی هم کردن جنگها
 و آن جنگ اکثر از پیء سپم و زر آمده
 گر پردلان و پیلتنان را فگنده شاه
 لیکن ز یک پیاده گهی مضطر آمده
 سلطان عصر شاه غریب آنکه در بساط
 هر گوشه صد چو شاهرخش چاکر آمده

In the encyclopedia called *Miftāh ul Sââdat*¹, under the division *Ilm ul Muâmma* (the Science of Riddles) is found an Enigma on the name of Muhammed, in which an allusion to Chess is introduced:—

"The vow of Moses twice repeat;
 "The principles of life and heat;
 "The squares of Chess, in order due,
 "Must take their place between these two;
 "When thus arranged, a name appears,
 "Which every Muslim heart reveres."

The solution of this Enigma presenting some difficulties, it was referred by Baron Hammer-Purgstall to one of the Ulema of Constantinople for my instruction. The original of the interpretation, thus obligingly communicated to me, is found in the note, appended to the Arabic text². The Enigma is thus explained:—

¹ "Schlüssel der Glückseligkeit und Leuchte der Herrschaft," Handschriften Hammer-Purgstall's, No. 12.

² المتما على اسم محمد يروي انه لعلي ابن

ابي طالب كرم الله وجهه لكن هذه الرواية غير صحيحة
 الاخذ وعد موسي مرتين * وضع اهل الطبايع تحت ذين *
 وسكن خان شطرنج فخذها * وادرج بين ذين المدرجين *
 فهذا اسم لمن يهواه قلبي * وقلب جميع في الخافقين *

"Take the 'vow of Moses,' which is 40; double it, and it becomes 80, equivalent to the two Míms in the name Muhammed. Place under these the bases of the temperaments, that is, the Elements, which are four (the power of the letter D); then take the number of the houses (or squares) of Chess, which are eight in a row, and place it (8 = to the letter H) between the two M's, and you have the name of the Prophet, Muhammed (M H M D)."

It has been necessary to turn the Arabic commentary a little, in order to make the solution more intelligible to those unacquainted with the trick of Eastern riddles. Some further explanation is also required to illustrate the solution itself. The vow of Moses refers to his forty days' fast. The four temperaments, the Bile, Atrabile, Phlegm, and Blood, are represented in the Arabian system of physics by the four elements, which are considered to be connected with them.

The figures refer to the numerical powers of the *Abjad*, or Alphabet.

The Enigma itself has been attributed, though on uncertain grounds, to Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet.

In Persian poetry the images drawn from Chess are innumerable, and abundant opportunities are afforded for the lively imagination of their poets in ingenious allusions to the terms of the game, and their fanciful adaptation to the objects of their verse, especially a play on the word *Shah*, King, frequently applied to the beloved object, and *Rukh*, as the cheek or face of beauty, and also the piece called Rukh in chess.

دل ما گرد لبّت باخت همه هوش کمال

بحریفی که دو رخ دارد هیچ مبار

"Kemál upon thy lip staked all his soul and lost;

Play not against an adversary with two Rukhs (cheeks)." *Kemál*.

يعني خذ وعد موسى عليه السلام و هو اربعين مرتين
فصار ثمانين و هو مهبين في ذاك الاسم القدس عليه الصلاة
والسلام وضع علي اصل الطبايع و هي السوداء والبلغم والصفراء
والدم و تجعل ان يراد منه العناصر الاربعة والاربعة عدد الدال
المهلمة و هي اذا اضع تحت هذين الوعدين وادرج خان
الشطرنج يعني خانه وهو ثمان و الثمانية في الحروف حاء
مهلمة اي غير معجمة بين المهبين فظهر اسم مبيد الخافقين
عليه الصلاة والسلام

دست رجحت در عنان دوستداري زن دمي

تا بساطي رخ نهد در پيش اسپ شاه من

"For one moment draw the rein of friendship with the hand of mercy,

That Bisāti may lay his cheek (*Rukh*) before the horse (*Asp*) of his Sovereign (*Shah*)."

Bisāti.

آن روز که شطرنج جفا گستري آموخت

در آول بازی رخ خوشش دل ما برد

"When my beloved learnt the chess-play of cruelty,

In the very beginning of the game her sweet cheek (*Rukh*) took my heart captive."

Kemāl Khojendi.

From similar passages interspersed through the Diwans of the Persian poets, many of the terms of Chess may be illustrated.

گر شهرخ وصال بساطي بمات رفت

در کف عنان اسپ مراد از چه او گرفت

"If the Shahrukh of meeting led Bisāti to death (*Mate*),

Why did he take in his hand the reins of the horse (*Asp*) of desire?"

Bisāti.

شطرنج غم عشق تو شه مات خوشست

"The chess-play of love's grief is a pleasing check-mate."

Ferīddudīn Attār.

شطرنج وصال تو توان برد * بي تعبيد مراد نتوان *

هيئات که پيلبند عشقت * آسان آسان کشاد نتوان *

تا سهو نيوختد ببازي * رخ بر رخ او نهاد ختوان *

"Though thou mayst win the chess-game of union,

It cannot be won without the *Attack* of desire;

Alas! that the *Pilbend* of thy love

Cannot without difficulty be dissolved!

Unless there be an error in play,

Thou canst not place thy *Rukh* (or cheek) against hers."

Hasan Dehlewī.

The following Fragment from Anwari's Diwan presents a series of images drawn from the game:—

صاحباً رای رفیعست که ميعار خود *
 هست بپوسته چو میزان فلك حادثه سنج *
 پیمش شطرنجی، تقدیر چو بر نطع امور *
 از بیء نظم جهان کرد بساطی، شطرنج *
 چرخ را اسب و ری طرح کند در تدبیر *
 فتنه را بر درِ شهمات نشاند بی رنج *
 باز چون دست بشطرنج تفرّج بازی *
 ای ز دست تو طمع رقص کنان بر سر گنج *
 شاه شطرنج که در وقت ضرورت شده است *
 بارها خانه فرزین و پیاده بسپنج *
 چون ببیند که ترا دست بود بر سر او *
 هم در آن معرکه بر پیل کند نوبت پنج *

Besides these incidental allusions to Chess, which seldom exceed the limits of a single couplet, whole poems have been composed, of greater or less extent, either in praise of the game, or on its principles of play. Such compositions are chiefly in Arabic, some of which are known to us only from extracts preserved in Anthologies, similar to those already described, and others are presented entire in different manuscript collections. One of these, a Casidah, containing nearly eighty lines, is found in the Diwan of Ibn al Afif¹, in the Library of the British Museum.

¹ الصدر الامام العالم الاوحد الفاضل شمس الدین ابو
 عبد الله محمد ابن الشیخ الامام العالم الاوحد عقیف
 الدین عهد الله بن سلیمان التلمسانی

The MS. is in the Collection of Rich, No. 7567, and is entitled "Diwan Ibn al Afif et alia."

I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Sprenger of Delhi, for a copy of a Persian poem on Chess, which he was so obliging as to have transcribed for me and sent over for the purposes of the present essay. It is in the Didactic form, and chiefly exhibits practical rules for playing the usual short game. The whole poem consists of about three hundred couplets, composed in the Khafif, or metre of the Hadicah of Senâi, and commences its exordium in praise of the Deity, with an allusion to the colours of the chess-board :

ای منور ز تو مه و خورشید
وز تو پیدا شد سیاه و سپید

“From thee both Sun and Moon derive their light,
Thou markest Day from Night, and Black from White.”

The Tauhid and Nât, or praises of the Deity and the Prophet, differ little from the usual style of such invocations in similar compositions, and appear to have little reference to the subject of the poem. They are followed almost immediately by directions for placing the men, instructions on their relative value and best mode of position, with two or three varieties of play, such as the Queen against two Rooks, and others already mentioned. A short chapter, rather irregularly introduced, discusses in a few lines the question of the lawfulness of Chess, which it admits on three conditions, viz., that it be not played for a stake, nor to the neglect of prayer, nor with indulgence in frivolous or dissipated conversation; to which conditions the author adds also, that it should be played with persons of good character, and that the match should not exceed three games at a sitting. Then follow twenty-four diagrams of positions, the mode of play being explained in verse. There is also the problem of covering the 64 squares of the board with the Knight, in so many moves. One of the games is Dilaram's Mate, already described in the analysis of Major Yule's MS. There is some difference in the story as it is related in the poem, though the position and solution are the same¹.

The poem concludes with a few lines in praise of the author's patron, to whom it is dedicated, and who appears to have been named Saif Khân. There is no other clue to its history, nor to the name

¹ This game seems also to have had a place in Dr. Hyde's authorities, though, not meeting with the tale connected with it, he mentions the Position as “Manâbu 'l Gjárîya, i. e., *Thema Lusús currentis*.” منصوبة الجارية. evidently refers to it as *Thema Puella*, vel *Anella*; see, *Dilarama*.²

or birth-place of the poet, and, until I have an opportunity of further information from the source whence I derived the MS., I am unable to give any particulars concerning this little work. It is styled, simply, *Risálahí Shatranj* on the cover of the copy sent me. In a literary point of view it affords a pleasing resemblance to Vida's celebrated Latin poem, and to the *Caïssa* of Sir W. Jones.

A history of celebrated Eastern Chess-players would form an interesting chapter of biography, and a desirable complement to a treatise on the literature of Chess. Abundant materials are supplied by the names which occur in anecdotes relating to the game, and many are to be gathered from the different Openings or Positions which bear titles from their authors. Among the Persian poets we find several who were renowned for their skill in chess-play, which is in every instance carefully recorded by their biographers, as a merit worthy of being mentioned with their literary and poetic talents, and their proficiency in the higher branches of art or science. Táhir of Nasrábád, who wrote memoirs of the poets in the reign of Shah Abbas, mentions one Azim, or Názim, of Yezd, who pretended to superiority in all arts, especially Chess, in which he boasted that "he would give even Lejláj a Knight, and beat him." Táhir however adds, that he had himself, notwithstanding his own want of skill, beaten this pretended champion several times.

Some of the best rhetorical specimens containing allusions to Chess are to be found in these biographies of poets, or other great men, to distinguish them for their skill in the game, or, metaphorically, to describe their excellence. Thus, in Auhadi's Life of Khájah Ali Shatranji, already mentioned (p. 42).

"When he moved his Rukh, (or face,) in the Arena, (or Board) of imagination, he gave the odds of two Horses and the Elephant to the Kings of rhetoric; the Gambit-player of fancy fell mated in the Filbend of confusion from his Pawn'."

Similar to this is the metaphorical allusion to Chess in a memoir of Abul Farah Rúni, another poet of early date, in Taki Auhadi's *Tazkirah*, the *Urfát*.

خواجہ دھقان علی شطرنجی کہ چون رخ بعرصہ
فکرت نہادی شاہان سخن را دو اسپ و فیل طرح دادی
منصوبہ باز خیال در فیل بند حریت پیادہ مات افتادی

Though *Mansúbah* means merely a Position at Chess, the words *Mansúbah-báz* are here translated 'Gambit-player,' for want of a suitable expression.

"The *Lilāj* of his genius, when it played the Nerd of knowledge, gave the Three-stroke move to the coursers of the hippodrome in the *Shashder* of power, and when he manœuvred the two-knight game in the exercise of imagination on the Chess-board of composition, would give two Knights and a Queen to the *Shaháfil* of intelligence¹."

In the life of *Aláuddín Jehánsúz* is a passage descriptive of the attack made by that Prince and his brothers on the army of *Behrámsahāh*, which also introduces many of the names of the Pieces, but without affording any novelty of illustration².

Lilāj, *Lejlāj*, or *Lejāj*³, is named by Hyde, who fully discusses the subject in his Chapter "De Inventore, Auctore," &c., (*Shahiludii*), p. 57. To those who have not access to that work, it may be necessary to explain that this person was by some supposed to be the inventor of Chess, and by others, merely to have excelled at it, and, in general, to be the *Coryphæus* and prototype of gamblers and players. Allusions to him under each of his three names are found in the extracts, both prose and verse, quoted in this essay, where he is repre-

لېلاج طبعش چون نرد دانش پاي نرخم باختي يکد تانران.
مېدان را در ششدر قدرت سه ضربه دادي و چون در
امر فکرتش در عرصه شطرنج سخن دو اسپه تاختي شاهافيل
سوار معاني را دو رخ و فزري نهادي *

¹ *Shashder* is the Board at Nerd or Backgammon. Several of the Chess terms in this and other extracts are not yet sufficiently illustrated to enable us to understand them. Some few of them are explained later.

با آنکه آن پلितن رستم دل چون با وي در عرصه
جلادت سپاه شطرنج و انر رخ بر رخ نهاده پياده و سوار
صف در صف کشيدند دويست نرخبير قبل جنگي داشت و
خود در اثناي سوازي بر فرس باد رفتار هزار پيل و سندان
مېگذرانيد انر کج بانريها سپهر فزرين طبع ي اختيار انر پيش
وي چون تبر انر خانه کمان جستد &c.
لېلاج — لجلج — لجاج

- presented not only to have been a player at Chess, but at other games¹. From the repetition of two of the names in the same passage, as quoted by Hyde, and some ambiguity in the explanation from the dictionary cited below, it might be assumed that there were two different persons, Lejláj, and Líláj, or Lejáj, one the inventor of Chess, and the other a celebrated player at it.

Dr. Hyde has so learnedly illustrated the instruments of chess-play, that little remains to be added to his information. The word Kálá (كال), however, is worthy of remark, as used in the Price manuscript to signify any one of the pieces, and also collectively for the whole, as well as Káláhá, in the regular Persian plural. No such signification is given in any of the native dictionaries among its many meanings, and it seems, like Asbáb (اسباب) and Alát, (آلات) equivalent, in a general acceptation, to our word Piece, and the German *Stück*. It does not appear in any other Chess treatise, the Persian word most frequently employed, especially in poetry, being Muhrah (مهره).

The usual colours of the Chess-men appear to have been Black and White, though often also Black and Red, by which the two sides are distinguished in the positions of the Price MS. In the poem described p. 43, the colours are Green and Red. The division into White and Black gives occasion to many ingenious allusions of their poets; Ghazáli of Meshed says:—

گردون بقصد بردن نقد حیات او
شطرنج شب و روز سپید و سیاه کرد

"Fortune, to win the ready stake of thy life,

"Chequered in white and black the chess-board of day and night."

لجلاج بر وزن و معنی لیلاج است که پیر و مرشد
قار بازار باشد و بعضی گویند که نام شخصی است که
واضع شطرنج است و بعضی دیگر گویند لجاج نام واضع
شطرنج است *Burhán*

¹ This couplet, and one similar, p. 43, seem to controvert the prevailing opinion that the squares in Eastern Chess are not of different colours. It is nowhere so stated in their treatises. MS. diagrams are, necessarily, alike, as even in engraving it requires a complicated process to represent the pieces on coloured squares.

The two following couplets present men made of wood, and also of ivory. From the *Mafarrih ul Calúb*:

با غیر او اضافت شاهی بود چنانک
بر یک دو چوب پاره شطرنج نام شاه

"The addition of royalty to other monarchs than him,
"Is like the name of King bestowed on a few wooden pieces at chess."

آن رخ از خوبان برد شطرنج حسن
گرچه باشد هر یکی را رخ ز عاج

"That cheek (Rukh) of hers would win from all the fair ones of
the world, at the chess-play of beauty,
"Though each one of them should have a cheek (Rukh) of ivory."
Kemal of Khojend.

The term *Mansúbah* (منسوبه), a "Position at Chess," is improperly called by Hyde a *Gambit*, ("De Situ Lusuum, qui vulgo Gambettæ vocantur, Ch. VII., p. 135), the Gambit of our modern game consisting in a peculiar mode of opening by advancing a second pawn and offering it for an advantage. The *Mansúbah* is merely a position of the pieces from which some curious and unscientific manner of winning or drawing is to be deduced¹. The opening, or commencement of a game, is called *Tábíah* (تعبیه) an Arabic word signifying the array of an army for battle², and answering also extremely well to our term in chess, *Attack*. Both *Mansúbahs* and *Tábíahs* are associated with the names of the inventor, or the player to whom they first occurred, as, in our chess-books, *Cunningham's Gambit*, the *Muzio Gambit*, &c., but there are also the two following *Mansúbahs*, of which one occurs in the *Anmúzaj*, and the other in the *Nuzhat*, of Dr. Lee's collection, and they are there quoted from *Adali's* and *Al Súli's* works. They are منصوبه قائمه خفیه (or perhaps منصوبه خفیه), and منصوبه مانعة, and they appear to be named

¹ In Johnson's Persian and Arabic Dictionary, "*Mansúbah*" is called "the game of Chess," instead of "a (particular) game or position at Chess."

² تعبیه is the Noun of Action of the 2d conjugation of عبا, which is explained, "Instruxit aciem vel exercitum."

Three other games are figured at the commencement of Major Price's MS., but it is difficult to know whether to assign them to the class of *Maṣṭūbahs* or *Tābīahs*. They are called *Halīlī* (هللی), *Janāh* (جناح), and *Muāllac* (معلق). The first is probably named after some player called *Halīl*. The *Janāh* appears to be connected in meaning with the *Mujannahī Temām*, already mentioned, which follows it in the MS. and to be a side opening, *on the wings*. The only illustration I can offer for the *Muāllac* is in this line of the poet *Kemal of Khojend*,

در ازل دل بتو شطرنج تعلّق مییاخت

Irā is explained in the *Madār ul Afāzil* and the *Muyid ul Fuzala* to be, "that piece at chess which is interposed between the King and a Rook to protect" (the King from the Rook's check), and the name to be derived from *'Arā*, "a place in which there is no tree nor covering;" the vowel being changed, as the dictionary says, to denote an altered meaning¹.

The signification of *دست Dest*, as a (single) game, is fixed by the *Burhānī Cātī* and other works². It frequently occurs in the *Price*

MS., as, in *در آخر دست* "at the end of the game" The word *بازی* (*Bāzi*), corresponding with the Arabic *لعب* (*Lāb*), is used to express the *Play* or *Move*, and it appears at the head of all chess problems in phrases similar to the following:—*بازی و سیاه برد* "Black plays and wins" (literally, wins and the move is his).

¹ *عرا* بالكسر مهرةء كه میان رخ و شاه شطرنج حایل بود و اصل این عرا است یعنی زمینی كه دروي درخت و پوشش نباشد لیكن آن مهرةء را عرا میگویند پیرین كه مقام عرا است از تسویه الشیء باسم محله لیكن عین را كسر داده اند تا دلاله كند تغیر لفظ بر تغیر معنی

The explanation in the *Madār ul Afāzil* is similar.

² *دست* — كره و مرتبه و نوبت را نیز گفته اند *هشویك* دست دیگر شطرنج و يك دست دیگر نرد بازی كنید *

A misapprehension has arisen as to the meaning of the term *Shah Rukh*, respecting which there is an anecdote current in most of the works on Chess, as having been bestowed as a name on Timur's eldest son, and from him applied to Shahrukhiyah, a city on the river Saihún or Jaxartes. The story is related in Hyde, both from the Greek historian, Ducas Byzantinus, and from Ibn Arabshah's narrative, but is erroneously explained to be a check to the King from the Rook. "Si quis Rucho monebat Regem, ille dicebat شهرخ Sháh Rùch, i.e., Sháh à Rucho." (Hyde. VI. 128) The same signification is said to be preserved in the Italian term Scaccorocco. Shahruk, however, is clearly nothing else than an attack by which the King and his Rook are checked at the same time, so that, the King being forced to move or otherwise defend himself, the Rook is taken by the piece that checks. It is merely a double check, which as it insures the capture of a Rook (by far the strongest piece in the Eastern game), and probably other advantages, is naturally a move of the highest importance, and one which might decide the event of the game. For this reason also it might have been usual to announce it to the adversary, though there is no evidence of this custom; just as some persons in playing the European Chess have the habit of calling Check to the Queen, or Double Check to the King and Queen, a move of corresponding consequence with Shah Rukh. The simple check of the King by the adversary's Rook would, under ordinary circumstances, be of little consequence, nor should it necessarily affect the issue of the game more than a check by any other piece. The question, in fact, is completely settled by the interpretation given, in the dictionary called Bahárl Ajam, to the expression, شاه رخ خوردن, "to suffer Shah Rukh, which is when the King is checked, so that he is obliged to move, and his adversary takes the Rukh'." In illustration of this meaning a couplet is quoted from the poet Zuhúri's "Description of

شاه رخ خوردن انست كه گشت بشاه بوسد كه بصورت
از انجا بر خيزد و حريف رخ را بزند * ظهوري در تعريف
شطرنج بازي ممدوح گويد *

نبيست قم ورنه خجالتی برد
شاه رخ گو كه شاه رخ ميخورد

Chess-play," which supports the inference that notice was given of it, or at least the stroke announced, as in Check or Check-mate.

Shah Rukh, separately, is interpreted in the same dictionary as "Two pieces at chess," and not, a stroke at chess. The position is more particularly illustrated in one of the examples of Games in the Chess Poem described p. 43.

بعد از آن فرز بر رخ اندازد رخ مابین که شاه رخ سازد
رخ زند بر وزیر مفت برد رخ سرخش دگر ز دم بندد

Dr. Hyde would seem to extend the use of a similar expression to other combinations, as the Check by the Queen, or the Bishop, or the Knight. If his authorities indicate its use, it is probably to be explained, as in *Shah Rukh*, to signify a Double Check in which one of those pieces is attacked as well as the King. The same principle, no doubt, might be applied to another term he quotes, *Asp-Ferzín*, or *Shah-Asp Ferzín*, and probably also to *Sháháfil*. *Supra*, p. 45.

Pílbend (or *Fílbend*) and *Ferzínbend* would appear, from the use made of these terms in the few places in which they occur in the treatises, to signify what we call *forking* two pieces, of which the Bishop or the Queen would be one. The *Bahárl Ajam* describes *Pílbend* as "a position at chess," but explains the compound "*Pílbend dádan*" (*پیل بند دادن*) to be an expression signifying to "mate by a check with the Bishop²." This, like the interpretation erroneously given to the term *Shah Rukh*, would not imply a stroke of such importance as to decide the game, or even to justify the metaphorical use of these words in the passage of *Nizami's Sikander Námah*, quoted by the *Bahárl Ajam* as an authority:

"When thou castest the noose in the combat of Elephants,
Thou givest *Pílbend* to (takest prisoner) the King of Cannúj."

¹ شاه رخ نام دو مهره شطرنج

² پیل بند نام یکی از منصوبهای شطرنج — و پیل بند دادن

عبارت از مات کردن بکشت پیل * نظامی *

چو در جنگ پیلان کشائی کند

دی شاه قنوج را پیل بندد

In Price's MS., where the action of the privileged or *queened Pawn* is described, it is said, "If the player wishes, he may make a *Fersinbend* with it, or if he will, *Pilbend*," thus plainly showing that in the situations to which these terms are applied, the *Fersin* or the *Pil*, from which they are named, is one of the pieces attacked, and not attacking, as that advantage would be equally open to a *Pawn* or other piece.

Dr. Hyde relates that a native Arab, when playing with him, used a word resembling the sound *Ksh*, in giving Check, and *Ksh mât* for Checkmate, but has given no explanation of the word, further than that the Arab cited a corresponding expression for it in Turkish². The word *Kisht* (کشت) is clearly described by Persian lexicographers to mean Check, and the use of it occurs in other places. The following explanation is found in the *Bahârî Ajam*.: "*Kisht*, a term used by chess-players. Mîr Khusru, in his work, the '*Tersîl ul A'âjâr*', in discussion of the technical terms of Chess, writes it *Kîst* (کسط), signifying *Justice*, and a king cannot dispense with justice, and when the King at chess flies from *Kîst*, it means 'he has no justice'; and it is for this reason they have changed the letter *Câf* to *Kâf* in *Kîst*, that it may not indicate such a signification⁴."

¹ و اگر خواهد بدان فرزند کند و اگر خواهد نیربند

² Page 132, 4to edition. "Cum aliquando luderem cum Arabe Hierosolymitano," &c. The writer of this note has heard the same word used by an Arab of Western Africa, who said it was Persian, and signified "Move (out of check)," and it might almost have been supposed to be a corruption from the word *Kashidan* (کشیدن), "to withdraw, or remove," which would correspond with the interpretation as گشت "Ito, migra," by Dr. Hyde's "Arabs Hierosolymitanus."

³ ترسیل الاعجاز This treatise would be invaluable, in explaining much which we can never hope to understand in the game, without such direct authority, and the present opportunity is taken to invite attention to it, should it still be extant in manuscript collections.

⁴ The uncertainty of text in native dictionaries causes much difficulty in quoting from them, and renders the definitions they contain comparatively unavailable. This objection particularly applies to those which, like the *Madâr ul Afâzil* and the valuable *Bahârî Ajam*, are of more rare occurrences; and also, in the present instance, to most of the original sources consulted, the copies of which, especially the chess treatises, are, as far as the Editor is informed, unique.

The same Lexicon, following the Burhānī Cātī, explains *Kisht berdan* to mean "To check, or give check," and the meaning of *Kisht* to be "Get up," i.e., "move from the check!"

Hyde, p. 124, quoting from the Ferhengī Jehāngiri, translates *Kisht berdan*, "*Regem occidere*," confounding it, perhaps, with the Persian verb *Kushtan* (to kill), and, singularly enough, not connecting it with the *Kāh*, already discussed by him².

These few remarks in illustration of the terms of Chess, may very suitably conclude with an observation on Shāh Māt and Shāh Cām, which represent the two endings of the game. The latter offers some difficulty. Shāh Māt is always understood to be our Check-mate, and to signify, of course, that the King is checked, and can neither move nor cover the check. Shāh Cām would therefore be a Drawn game, or rather Stale Mate, rendering the parties equal, as according to the European laws. It seems, however, to be effected in a different manner from our Stale Mate, the condition of which is, that the King, not being checked on the square he occupies, should be unable to move out without putting himself in check, which would be against the rules of the game, and, as the penalty of his adversary's want of skill, makes the ending drawn. The Burhānī Ajam, which quotes also the Burhānī Cātī, explains Shāh Cām at some length thus:—

"According to Majduddīn Causi, Shāhcām is a compound word, signifying 'the King has risen,' and it is used when the chess-player

۱ — وکشت کردن شاه شطرنج را نیز گفته اند و کشت
بکسر کاف باصطلاح شطرنج بازان آنست که مهره از
مهرهای شطرنج را در خانه گذارند که بحسب حرکت آن
مهره شاه در خانه او نشسته باشد و کشت خوانند یعنی بر
خیز از خانه من *

² *Regem occidere* "شاه کشت کردن" شاه شطرنج بود
dictur de Rege Shatrangio. The quotation, properly, should run thus,—

شاه سه معنی دارد — سوم کشت کردن شاه شطرنج بود
and its translation would be, "*Shah* has three significations,—the 3rd is, to check (*kisht berdan*) the King at chess." Even Meninski, who frequently quotes Hyde for chess terms, explains *Kisht*, "*Vocabulum in ludo latrunculorum, ubi Rex eorum petitur*," and calls it a corruption of *Kāh*; and, similarly, the phrase *Kisht berdan*. Johnson's Persian Dictionary also gives *Kisht* and *Kāh*, Check at Chess.

is overborne and his King so reduced as to be in danger of immediate Checkmate, and in order to avoid being Mated, he moves his King, and plays it to another square, and places some pieces to protect him; and then they say, Sháh Cá-m, that is, 'the King has arisen,' and this rising is the extreme degree of defeat. The author of the Burhán says that when a player finds himself distressed in the game, he gives his adversary repeated Check, and does not allow him an opportunity of playing any other move, and thus the game is drawn. This explanation is preferable to the former. The word Cá-m, though strange to the Persian language, has come into use among chess-players, like the verb Mát, which is also foreign; both being used in the past tense¹."

Without entering into the etymological discussion of this word Mát, which is already so learnedly set forth in Dr. Hyde's Dissertation, it must be said that the general tendency of authorities in Persian

۱ شاهقام بقای مجدد الدین قوسی گوید لغظیست مرکب از شاه و قام بمعنی شاه بر خاست و این در وقتی گفته میشود که در شطرنج بازی از يك جهت غلبه واقع شود و کار شاه مغلوب بآن رسیده باشد که به یکبارگی هات شود بجهت دفع مات شدن شاه خود را از آنجا بر خیزد و بخانه دیگر برد و مهره چند قدا کند درین وقت گویند شاه قام یعنی شاه بر خاست و این برخاستن نهایت مغلوبی است و صاحب برهان آورده که چون کسی خود را در شطرنج بازی زبون بیند حریف را بی در پی کشت گوید و او را فرصت ندهد تا بازی دیگر کند و قائم ماند (و بازی قائم شود) و این توجه بهتر مینماید و لفظ قام اگرچه فریبست در استعمال شطرنج بازان آمده باشد چنانچه لفظ مات که آن نیز فریبست هر کدام بصیغه ماضی *

works is to confirm the opinion that Mánd, or Mánad (ماند), and not Mát (مات), was originally used. It is hardly probable that the Persians would have borrowed a foreign word to express one of the most familiar points in the game, for which they must have had a corresponding symbol in their own language, or might have easily arranged a more simple and intelligible expression; nor is there any reason that one single Arabic word only should have been preserved to the exclusion of all others, even if the terms generally had been derived from that language. Sháh Cám is the only parallel to it, and the Burhán indeed, already quoted, calls them both of foreign extraction; but it is possible that, even before the time it was written, the corruption had already taken place, and the compound Shahr-mát, being of unknown origin, was explained by the lexicographers as Arabic. It is remarkable that throughout the whole of the old Persian treatise, the term Sháh Mát, or Mát kerdan, is never once used, but that the expression for the King in that situation is, on every occasion, Sháh Mánad (شاه ماند), and the same is also used in many other works. The perfect opposition in meaning between the two phrases "the King has arisen" (Sháh Cám), and "the King remains" (i.e., prisoner, or surrounded, or beaten), may fairly presume the antithesis to be intended not only in practice, but in the meaning of the words themselves, even though from different languages, Mát or Mánad, and Cám.

Whatever may be its exact derivation, Sháh Mát, as now used, seems to correspond most accurately with our Check Mate; and Sháh Cám, to comprehend all the varieties of the modern system of Stale Mate, whether by Perpetual Check, or the other conditions of that game; while a Draw by the equality of forces on both sides is clearly represented by Cáim (تایم), to which subject a chapter is specially devoted in most of the treatises, giving the equation according to the value of the pieces. This is shown also in the term Mansúbah Cáimah, already noticed, and in that of Cáim andáz, to signify a player of such strength as to make a lost game equal¹.

¹ در شطرنج قایم آنرا گویند که هر دو حریف برابر باشد *
Kashf ul Lughát.

قایم انداز یعنی برابر دارنده بازی شطرنج و نرد * F. Rashidi.

قایم انداز شطرنج باز و نرد باز کامل باشد و از حریف بازی

خود قایم دارد Bahár Ajam.

The preceding paragraph, then, would, in the separate definitions of the two authors, indicate two different kinds of *Sháh Cáw*; of which one would be our Perpetual Check to avoid being mated, and the other, strictly, the Stale Mate of the Persian game, which still requires some illustration. The King's rising or moving to another square seems evidently connected with the privilege in the earlier system for him to retire to a place of refuge, which in the Great Chess was into one of the projecting squares, and latterly into certain squares assigned for such protection in the ordinary board, while the Draw obtained by the weaker party moving his King, instead of leaving him confined to his single square, as with us, constitutes a very essential difference both in the practice and the intention of the game.

In the description of Complete Chess given in the old Persian MS., the varieties of endings of games are somewhat differently arranged, and present still greater difficulty. The passage which relates to it was omitted in the analysis of the work where it occurred, as an inconvenient place for its discussion, but is thus literally translated.

"Description of Sháh Cáw and its Varieties.

"In this Chess, *Sháh Cáw* cannot be made while a piece is near the King. He (the inventor) says, it would be impossible that a common weak foot soldier (Pawn), or any other piece besides the Pawn, should come and kill a monarch in the very middle of his army; and after that, what advantage would there be to them? When the antagonist cries Check, and there remains no square for the King, once only, whichever piece he pleases, he places before his antagonist, and moves his King there, and this in the Book of Complete Chess they call *Sháh Fát'*, and they say *Fidá*; and also *Sháh At* when the King can cover a Check; and they call it *Sháh Tát*, when the King cannot cover it; and *Sháh Cáw* is when the King is separated from his men; nevertheless, if the King can attain that additional square of his

¹ شاه فات — شاه ات — شاه تات — *Fatá, "ransom" or "hostage,"* naturally applies to the piece which, as it were, offers its life to save the King by interposing between him and the enemy, and the expression is frequent in Eastern chess books. The words *At*, *Fát*, and *Tát*, which have no meaning in Arabic or Persian, seem invented merely as parallel sounds to *Mát*.

adversary, they draw the game, unless the Shâhî Masnûâ be on that place, and we have already described its properties, &c.¹

d. In addition to such technical words and phrases as have been furnished to us in Hyde's Dissertation, and as an appendix to those which are explained in the foregoing pages, the following Persian terms have occurred, chiefly in relation to the Move, and to Checking and Checkmating. A diligent examination of the Positions explained in the various treatises would supply a much larger stock, and might form the elements for a Glossary of Oriental Chess; but more extensive materials are still required, both to complete what is wanting, and to elucidate in a satisfactory manner, what is already before us.

صفت شاه قام و انواع آن

و درین شطرنج شاه قام نشود تا کالا باشد پهلوی شاه * گوید
 که محال باشد که پادشاهی * در میان لشکر خویش یک پبادہ
 ضعیف بیاید و اورا هلاک (کند) یا کالاء دیگر دون پبادہ * پس
 ازین پادشاهی و لشکر اورا چه نایدہ دهد * چون حریف شاه
 خواهد و شاهرا خانه نباشد * یک پاره کالا آنک خواهد پیش
 حریف نهد و شاه خویش آنجا برد * این را در کتاب شطرنج
 کامل شاه نات خوانند و فدا گویند * و شاه آت نیز چون
 شاه بتوان پوشید آن شاه خواہرا * و شاه تات آنگاہ گویند
 کہ نتوان پوشید و شاه قام شود کہ از کالاء خویش جدا ماند *
 و با این ۴ اگر تواند کہ بآن خاندہ زیادتی حریف شود فہم
 گیرند مگر آنک شاه مصنوع بر جای باشد و در بیان آن گفتم
 کہ ۴ چیزست

¹The text is an exact copy, the points only being occasionally supplied, and one word in brackets, together with the necessary orthographic marks.

To move (a piece) (Active).	To take.	To check.	To checkmate.
انگیزختن	زدن	شاه طلبیدن	شاه مات گفتن
رالدن	گرفتن	شاه طلب کردن	مات کردن
نهادن	انداختن بر	شاه طلب نمودن	مات نمودن
بردن	بر داشتن	شاه گفتن	مات ساختن
—	ربختن	شاه خواستن	مات خواستن
To move (Neut.)	فرو ربختن	پادشاه خواستن	—
پیش آمدن	افگندن	شاه زدن	To be checkmated.
رفتن	—	کشت کردن	شاه مات شدن
نشستن	پوشیدن	کشت نمودن	مات شدن
خاستن	پرده ساختن	کشت خواستن	مات گردیدن
بر خاستن	فدا گفتن	کشت گفتن	در ماندن
	فدا کردن		

Besides their ordinary meanings in the list just given, *Afgandan* (افگندن) and *Nihādan* (نهادن) are equivalent to طرح دادن "to give as odds," and are so explained in the *Ferheng-i Rashīdī* and *Bahārī Ajamī*¹.

Burdan (بردن) seems specially used as the verb to express winning at chess, as already seen in many of the quotations, particularly the poetic extracts; but it also means to take (a piece), and this signification is supported by some of the same examples.

¹ پیل افگندن یعنی پیل طرح دادن که کنایت از عاجز کردن باشد * (F. R.)

پیاده نهادن یعنی پیاده طرح دادن و آن کنایت از زیون داشتن حریف بود * (F. R.)

فرس افگندن و فرس نهادن کنایت از نا توان و مغلوب گردانیدن * (B. A.)

اسب و قزوین نهادن کنایت از مات کردن * (B. A.)

As Dr. Hyde's work is now scarce, and the terms of Chess may not be familiar to all Orientalists, it has been thought advisable to exhibit in the following table the Pieces of the Great Chess, and, inclusively, those of the common game, with the English names of the latter, and their move according to Eastern tactics.

Persian and Arabic Name.	Meaning.	European Piece.	Move.
شاه Sháh	King	King	Same as ours.
فرزن Ferzín	General	Queen	One square obliquely.
پل Píl	Elephant	Bishop	{ Two squares obliquely, jumping over.
فیل Fíl (<i>Arabic</i>)			
اسب Asp	Horse	Knight	As ours.
فرس Faras (<i>Arabic</i>)			
رخ Rukh	Rukh	{ Rook, or Castle }	As our Castle.
پیاده Piyádah	Foot soldier	Pawn	{ As ours, but only one square.
بیدق Baidac (<i>Arab</i>)			
پیاده اصل Piyádahí Asl	{ Original Pawn }	. .	{ Similar to our Pawns. V. p. 13.
بیدق البیدق Baidac ul baidac (<i>Arab</i>)			
وزیر Wazír	Minister	. .	One square straight.
طلیحه Talíhah	{ Advanced Guard }	. .	Our Bishop's move.
دبابة Dabbábah	War Engine	. .	Two squares straight.
جل Jamál	Camel	. .	Similar to Knight's ?
زرافه Zaráfah	Giraffe	. .	Similar to Knight's ?

A tabular view also of the Pieces of the Great Chess, arranged according to their powers, will assist the description given in pp. 10, 11, 12.

روش مستقیم Rawishī Mustakīm. Straight Movement.

ابتدا	Ibtidá	{ Beginning, or Lowest power }	Wazír.
وسط	Wast	{ Middle, or Medium power }	Dabbábah.
نهایت	Niháyat	{ End, Extreme or highest power }	Rukh.

روش معوج Rawishī Muáwwaj. Oblique.

ابتدا	Ibtidá	Beginning	Fersín.
وسط	Wast	Middle	Píl.
نهایت	Niháyat	End	Talááh.

روش مرکب Rawishī Murakkab. Mixed.

ابتدا	Ibtidá	Beginning	Asp.
وسط	Wast	Middle	Jamal.
نهایت	Niháyat	End	Zaráfah.

With regard to the varieties of the Game itself, the different boards named in the authorities quoted may be classed in the following Synopsis, which will facilitate a reference to the Plates.

I. ¹ کامل تامة کبير	Kāmil Tāmmah Kebīr	} Complete or Great Chess.	Price Ms. Nuzhat. Anmūzaj. Arabshah. Nefāis, No. 5.	
II. ² مختصر صغير هندية مربعة	Mukhtasar Saghīr Hindīyah Murabbāh		Abridged or Little. Indian or Square.	Price MS. Arabshah. Nuzhat. Nuzhat.
III. ³ صعيدية	Sāfidiyah		Sāfidian?	Anmūzaj.
IV. ⁴ مدورة رومية	Mudāwarah Rūmīyah	Round or Grecian.	Arabshah. Nefāis, No. 8. Nuzhat. Anmūzaj.	
V. ⁵ طويلة ممدودة	Tawfiah Memdūdah	} Oblong.	Arabshah. Nefāis, No. 2. Anmūzaj.	
VI. ⁶ ذوات الحصون	Zawāt ul Husūn		Castellated Chess.	Nefāis, No. 1.

There is also the second circular board, which might be called the "Celestial" Chess, described and figured in the Nefāis, but in a very unsatisfactory manner; and Firdusi's large board, Pl. III. fig. 2.

¹ Pl. I.

² The form is well known, and appears in Pl. III. fig. 1.

³ Described as similar to the common Square Chess, but no drawing is given.

⁴ Pl. IV. fig. 2, from the Nefāis.

⁵ Figures 1 and 2, Pl. IV., from two different MSS. of the Nefāis.

⁶ The figure given in the Nefāis is incomplete, and, evidently, inaccurate.

The subject of Eastern Chess may be thought very imperfectly discussed without allusion to the chapters in the *Sháh Námah* in which is to be found perhaps the earliest Oriental notice of the game; but as the principal passage has been given by Hyde, though from a faulty text, and consequently unsatisfactory in translation, and as the present object is rather to supply what is wanting than to accumulate a mass of detail, it will be sufficient to refer inquiry to the quotation already alluded to, reminding the reader that the description of that game was given by the Ambassador of the King of Cantú in reference to its traditionary origin, after he had introduced the chess-board at the court of the Persian monarch¹.

The question of the original invention of Chess, in whatever form it made its appearance, and of the name of its inventor, could not be conveniently discussed within the limits of these sheets. Little is available from our present sources beyond the repetition of the legend attributing the first invention to Sassa, or Sissa, a name which occurs in the various Eastern authorities as Sahсах, Susah, or Sísah, according to the multiplied errors of copyists in reproducing it, or the caprice of lexicographers in fixing an arbitrary pronunciation. They are all obviously corruptions of the word Xerxes, or of a name which has served as its origin; the invention of Chess having, in many of the European legends, been ascribed to a philosopher so called in the reign of Evil Merodach, at Babylon². The whole name of Sahсах ben Dáhir³, or, as in some versions, ben Nasír, is too evident a falsity to establish it as an authority for a historical fact. The patronymic is so clearly Arabian, as to remove all pretence to Indian origin. If a corruption, the evidence, thus once injured, is destroyed.

In returning to the subject of the history of Chess, it may be permitted to observe that, however startling the assertion in Major Price's MS., the evidence may, supported by other arguments, still make some stand against the more prevalent opinion. The Indian

¹ Hyde; Cap. De Scaccario, p. 75: or in Macan's edition of the *Shah Namah*, Vol. IV. p. 174c, the whole part relating to Chess extending from p. 174q to p. 174d.

² By Polydore Virgil, and others. In the illustrated edition of the *Nuremberg Chronicle* is found a portrait of Xerxes Philosophus, with the chess-board arranged before him.

³ An author quoted by Dr. Hyde writes *صاحبة بن داهر الهندي*.

origin of Chess seems to have been first asserted by Sir William Jones, who says, "If evidence be required to prove that chess was invented by the Hindus, we may be satisfied with the testimony of the Persians; who, though as much inclined as other nations to appropriate the ingenious inventions of other people, unanimously agree that the game was imported from the West of India," &c.¹ Now we have just heard a perfectly opposite assertion from one Persian writer, and there may be many others of a similar opinion. By destroying the unanimity of the consent, we invalidate the proof. The "*Exceptio probat regulam*" does not apply here; Sir William rests his thesis, mainly, on the *universal* credence given to it by the Persians themselves, but for this even there is not a sufficient mass of evidence to establish an implicit agreement of all authorities.

The resemblance between his Chaturanga and our chess-play hardly infers identity. They differ materially both in form and principles, and the Seang Ke, or Chinese Chess, might almost equally well claim to be the parent of the European. The name itself, Chaturanga, though plausible as a derivation, is not applicable in meaning, and as a mere sound has no greater similarity than any of the numerous Arabic and Persian words or compounds already proposed. Indeed, I am almost surprised that over zealous etymologists have not pressed into their service Seang for Satrang, and Ke for Chess².

Objections have been made to the Rukh and Elephant; the first as being of uncertain origin, and the other as foreign to Persia. Accordingly, Sir Wm. Jones will have Rukh to be from Rat'h, a Chariot, first forcing it through the Bengali Rot'h, to obtain a broader vowel. This vague etymology is but weakly supported. Armed chariots are as ill placed in Persian warfare as the fabled bird the Rukh, even supposing there were no better interpretation for that word. As to Elephants, they may as well be used in Persian Chess as if it were of Indian origin. They appear in the Sháh Námah in the armies of Iran and Turan, and figure in the description of Chess in that poem, while to the Arabs they are familiar from the chapter of the Coran which bears their name, and which recalls their use in war in one of the earliest battles of Islamism.

We need not, however, rest the Rukh's claim to a Persian origin, solely on its assumed signification as a large bird. Abundant

¹ On the Indian Game of Chess. Asiatic Researches.

² The Board of Chaturanga is exhibited in pl. II. fig. 2, from the description furnished by Sir W. Jones' Essay. The form of the Chinese Chess is given in a plate in Hyde's work.

materials are supplied by Eastern authors to refer it to other originals, and the difficulty lies chiefly in selecting from the numerous descriptions one which will best correspond with the functions and form of the piece in question, and with the attributes of the animal of which it is the pretended type.

On the origin of the Rukh, the Persian MS. of Major Yule quotes the following account, in the chapter relating to the names of the pieces, and already noticed (p. 20):—"The Rukh is a certain animal found in that part of Hind in which Aloes wood grows. It is an exceeding large beast, of great fierceness, and all creatures are afraid of it. When a man sees it, he runs away, and it follows him, and if there is no shelter for him, it kills him on the spot; but in the case of its being in a forest, and there is refuge in a tree, if it is a high tree, and the animal cannot reach him, it again attacks him and jumps at him, and continues to jump till it has no more strength left for the attack. This animal has two faces, and two heads, and four ears, and on each head two ears, and two eyes, and one mouth; and two bellies, and on each belly four hands and feet¹," &c. Several of the native dictionaries also describe the Rukh as a large and powerful beast, in addition to the usual interpretation of a bird, and the cheek, &c., among others, the Madár ul Afázil, in which it is said—"Rukh; the Chess Rook; originally written *Rukhkh*, but by the Persians with one *kh*; it is the name of a large animal which preys on the Elephant

رخ جانور بست در بلاد هند آنجا که عود قاري باشد
 بغایت بزرگ و صاحب شوکت و همه حیوانات از وی خایف
 باشند و چون آدمی او را بد بیند بگریزد و او عقب روان
 شود اگر پناهی نباشد در حال هلاکش کند و اگر چنانچه پیشه
 باشد و التجا بدرخت اگر درخت بلند باشد بوی نرسد باز
 حمله کند و بر جهد همچنین بر می جهد تا بوقتی که او را قوت
 بر جستن و حمله کردن نماند — و او جانور بست که او را دو
 روی و دو سر و چهار گوش باشد و بر هر سری دو گوش و دو چشم
 و یک دهان و دو شکم و بر هر شکم چهار دشت و پایی &c.

and Rhinoceros. It is also used in the signification of cheek or face; and is also a certain bird, &c.

Strange, then, as we may consider the accounts of Oriental geographers or naturalists in description of the animal by which Rukh is to be translated, there is sufficient proof in the extract just selected from numerous similar passages, in addition to those already cited by Hyde, that some quadruped of large growth and powers and of savage nature was indicated by this word, which at first seemed to own no other representation than that of the fabulous and gigantic bird, more familiarly known to us from Eastern fairy tale, and which might, perhaps, reasonably be denied a place in the array of the chess-board. What recognised subject in our Natural History may best correspond with the animal so fancifully depicted in Oriental writings, is still a question. Dr. Hyde's opinion, founded on some of the native descriptions he cites, is in favour of the Dromedary; but he is evidently biassed also in his decision by the probability of the Dromedary being selected as an appropriate image in a game invented to represent Eastern warfare. A further support to his argument is the figure the Rukh assumed in the earlier sets of chess-men, where we find it forked, in a form still preserved by the Chess-Rook borne in many coats of arms as an heraldic device. The forked appearance he supposes to represent the two humps, which are also part of the characteristics of the Rukh. This plea of identity, though otherwise plausible, is no longer admissible in the case of the Great Chess, where we have the Rukh appearing on the same board with the Jamal or Camel, whose name allows no other interpretation. The figure of the earlier Rook, at a time when the carved chess-men no longer directly imaged their original attributes, was not peculiar to it alone. In our European game, the Alfin, the representative of the Fil, or Eastern Elephant, had a head similarly shaped, and from its resemblance to a mitre seems to have been derived its present English name of Bishop. In the account of the pieces of the Great Chess also (p. 12), several are described as having "two faces."

The word in the MS. might be either Gurg (Wolf) or Kerg, the same as Kergadan (Rhinoceros), which would agree with the account in Hyde.

دو رخ بضم رخ شطرنج و آن به شتر و به کوه
 نامدار و به خفیف استعجاله کنند و نام چنانوی بزرگ که
 و کوه طبع او است و به معنی درخسار و به معنی است

evidently alluding to the same appearance, so that the "Bifrons Ruchus" can no longer alone claim that distinction.

On the whole, if, as there may be some reason to doubt, the Rukh in Chess was intended to represent an animal having a real or supposed existence, I should be inclined, in preference to all others of which we have a knowledge, to identify it with the Hippopotamus. A remarkable coincidence exists between that animal and the native accounts of the Rukh, especially in an extract from the geographer Abul Hasan, quoted by Hyde, p. 111. Even the double-headed form, repeated in most passages on the same subject, and at best to be considered only an exaggeration of the marvellous, produced by fear, or added by ignorance, may far better be supposed to be represented in the forked symbol both of Eastern Rukh and European Rook, than the double hump¹ of the Dromedary would be, as advocated by some of the authorities. To anticipate an objection similar to that already made to the Rukh, namely, that such an animal as the Hippopotamus, strange to Eastern warfare, would be absurdly introduced in mimic battle, it may be replied that we have already a certainty of the Zaráfah or Giraffe's existence in the same game, a figure equally misplaced in such a scene, but of which the etymology does not permit us to question the identity.

I should not have extended the inquiry into the origin of the Rook to so great a length, had not the objection been so much insisted on by those who follow Sir W. Jones's theory, that it seemed to require a more particular notice than would have been necessary as a purely philological question.

It is commonly stated in European essays that Chess is played in the East with little or no variation from our rules. This, as far as regards the practise of Muhammedan natives of India in their intercourse with our colonists, seems to be a fact, and even among those Oriental branches having less intercourse with foreigners, the alteration, though sufficient to affect the system of its tactics, presents merely a variety in the same game. There is, however, a modern work on Chess, printed at Bombay, in which the game is taught with very remarkable differences in its practice. It is a translation of a contemporaneous Sanscrit treatise, called "Vilas Muni Munjuri," or the "Diamond Flower-bud of amusement," and the name of its author, a Brahman, was Trevangadacharya. Any chess-player inspecting its

¹ Dr. Hyde writes of it as having two humps. The *Ráhilah*, or Dromedary, is, however, only a swifter breed of the single-humped Arab Camel; v. Russell's Aleppo, vol. ii., and even Hyde's plate of Indian chess-men figures the Rukh as a Camel with one hump.

rules will immediately perceive them to differ so essentially from those we follow, as to require a separate study and a new system of play¹. It also shows some coincidences with the Great Game of our unknown Persian author, almost tempting us to consider them as traces of an earlier mode of practice, and the game itself to have formed a sort of Zend, between the Sanscrit and the modern Persian Chess, in which its Bombay votaries have preserved its symbols in preference to those of the Pagan Chaturanga and the Muhammedan Shatrauj.

¹ In the title page it is called "Essays on Chess, adapted to the European mode of play, &c., by Trevangadacharya Shastree. . Bombay, 1814."

The rules may be abridged thus, observing a different order, as more convenient :—

- I. The King on one side is opposite to the other player's Queen.
- X. He who has won most games, moves first.
- IX. The first four or eight moves may, by agreement, be placed for beginning the game.
- VIII. The Kings' and Queens' Pawns may move two squares at their first move, if the pieces to which they belong are in place; other Pawns only one square.
- VI. No Pawn can go to the last line, nor take any piece on that line, so long as the master piece of his own file remains.
- V. In *queening*, the Pawns obtain the powers of the pieces to which they belonged, except the King's Pawn, which becomes a Queen. The Knight's Pawn also is entitled to one move as a Knight, in addition to that by which he queens.
- VII. The King may not castle, but once in the game is allowed the Knight's move, if not previously checked. He may not, however, take with this move.
- II. There are three modes of winning—*Boorj*, when no piece is left. This is the least creditable, and by some called Drawn; 2nd. Checkmate, the adversary having one or more pieces remaining; 3rd. Checkmate with a Pawn, called *Piedmát*, the adversary having some pieces left. This is the best mode.
- III. There is no Stale Mate; the adversary must make room by moving. In some parts of India, one of the adversary's pieces, at choice, may be removed for that purpose.
- IV. No game can be drawn by Universal Check; the party checking must make another move.

In the fly-leaf of the copy referred to is found the following note, which, after omitting the names quoted and also the signature, may be inserted here :—

"The author, familiarly known in the Bombay Presidency by the name of *the Brahmin*, was said never to have lost a game at Chess, except one, in which he allowed himself to be beaten by a lady. Even here, however, the Brahmin had not miscalculated—the lost game secured him a Bullock Contract.

"I was assured by my friend * * * that, on the famous Position, called *Phillidor's Legacy*, being submitted to him, after five minutes' consideration, he divined the move."

Sufficient importance is hardly attached to the circumstance that the board described in the *Sháh Námah* contains one hundred squares and forty pieces, thus demonstrating the existence of a game of larger dimensions and greater powers four hundred years before the age of Timur, and it is a fair question for examination, whether that form may not be an indication of a still larger and more ancient kind of Chess agreeing with the *Shatranjī Kámil*. The two additional pieces in it are also identical with two of those in the Complete Chess, viz., the Camels on each side, and their power agrees exactly with that ascribed to the same pieces in the early part of this essay. Firdusi's description, whether authentic or imaginative, abundantly proves that the large board ascribed to Timur was not of his invention, although he might, possibly, from his enthusiastic love of chess, have been led to revive and adopt an obsolete variety of it. There remains then only the question of prior antiquity between the long and the short game, and of the circumstances under which they were respectively modified, and, in some degree dependent on that question, the locality of the invention of the original game, in whatever form that may have been.

The whole of the evidence drawn from the history of Chess shows, a tendency to abridgement in the game, in its gradual decline from the extreme size and powers of the Great Chess to that which is now played, and the intermediate modifications in Firdusi's description and in the Bombay Chess form epochs which indicate the progress of the change. It is shown in the altered size and form of the board, the varying moves of the men, and the peculiar play of the King when in distress. The large board, with its two additional squares, seems first to have lost those two projections, and to have been reduced to a plain figure, and even to have suffered a further abridgement of one row of squares, as we find the number described indifferently as 100 and 110 in different manuscripts, even in reference to the Great Chess. The board being thus limited in the number of its squares, a corresponding decrease may be inferred in that of the men, some of the original, now called additional pieces, having been retained on boards even of lesser dimensions. To compensate for the loss of many of these pieces, their powers appear to have been transferred to those still retained in the modern game, as in the instance of the Bishop, which has received the more extended move of the *Taliáh* of Great Chess. In some cases, additional power has been granted, as that shown in the superiority of the Queen over the piece it represents, the *Ferzín*.

The altered system of protection for the King is still more strik-

ingly illustrative of the change from large to small, from complication to simplicity. The projecting squares of the Great Chess, or ancient game, having been abolished, either from their inconvenience in the practice of the game, or for greater uniformity in the shape of the board, a compensation seems to have been made to the King, first, by the allotment of the squares distinguished as his place of refuge in the more modern Eastern board described in Hyde, p. 74, and, later, by the anomalous process of Castling, an expedient evidently of such modern invention as not to be allowed even in the present game, as played among the natives of the East. This latter change is particularly remarkable, as admitting no possible question of inversion, and as, apparently, having accompanied, and kept pace with, a corresponding diminution in size, form, and power, in the Board and Pieces, and in the whole system of chess-play.

Before, then, we bow to this opinion of the Hindu origin of Chess, or allow the four-headed divinity of the Brahmans to appropriate the wisdom of all the quarters of the globe, and their many-handed monsters to clutch every invention of the East as their own, a few queries suggest themselves, which claim an answer from those who consider their position too strong to be disputed. These objections may be classed under three general heads, and, to follow the arrangement of the work which gave rise to this discussion, they may be divided into an historical, a philological, and a practical difficulty in connection with the game itself.

If Chess, in any near resemblance to that which we now play, was known in early ages to the Hindus, where are their historical or romantic records of its invention or its use? Does any ancient Sanscrit treatise exist on its principles or practice? And, as the Persians are supposed to acknowledge its introduction into their country from India, do the annals of the Hindus themselves equally relate their share in the transaction?

If Chess is of Indian birth, and even allowing Chaturanga to be its parent, how did it retain the name of the game only, and yet change all the names of the pieces? Why should the Rat'h or Rot'h alone remain untranslated? The Persian terms endure in all the languages of Europe, although their powers have been modified and their original attributes forgotten.

If Chaturanga was the origin of all Eastern Chess, where and at what period did it undergo that sudden and almost total transformation necessary to obtain a resemblance to the Persian form under which it makes its next appearance? Was, then, the Chaturanga its purer state of being, and Shatranj only its Avatar among its more distant worshippers?

* Though of trifling importance to real science or profound literature, there is an interest in Chess and in its history, which repays a more critical investigation than it has yet received. Learned antiquaries have illustrated its existence of the last ten centuries, but there are still links wanting to connect it with its earliest origin, and to complete our knowledge of this ancient and universal game, which presents so remarkable an instance of etymologies surviving the Babel of ages, and historically, as well as in philology, constitutes one of the most intimate points of union between Europe and the East.

Considered merely as a chapter in the social history of mankind, Chess is equally worthy of admiration; a game which, having established its mimic images in defiance of the persecutors of idolatry, has triumphed alike over the denunciations of Coranic moral and the zealous rage of the Byzantine Iconoclast, and for whose support law and theology have been strained alike by Muslim Mulla and by Western Priest; from which kings have given names to their sons and to the cities they have founded, nor hesitated to ascribe their glories to its practice, when they made it a principle in the education of their children, and which, as an image of war, or an exercise of wisdom, has been the royal sport of lawgiver and conqueror, from the Haruns and Cosroes of the East to the Charlemagnes and Canutes of our own climes; from the shepherd warrior of Tartary to the fugitive hero of Poltava, or his more modern rival in boundless empire and lawless ambition, the Tamerlane of France, Napoleon.

ART. II.—*Note on the Sri Jantra and Khat Kon Chakra, (Six-Angled Wheel), or Double Equilateral Triangle. By E. C. RAVENSHAW, ESQ., late of the Bengal Civil Service.*

THE

[Read 16th June, 1849.]

IN presenting to the Royal Asiatic Society the accompanying two specimens, in crystal, of the Sri Jantra, it will be proper to offer some explanation of the manner in which they came into my hands; of the use to which they are applied by the Hindus; and of the meaning, and apparently great antiquity, of the mysterious symbol of the Double Equilateral Triangle.

The Jantras were brought to me about two years ago when I was residing at Patna, by an itinerant vendor of Hindu images, *sālagrāms*, and other religious curiosities from Benares. The man informed me, that they were made of crystal, brought from the neighbourhood of Jeypoor. He had a great number of them of various sizes; for the larger ones he demanded 30, 40, and 50 rupees. He could afford me little other information regarding them, than that they were objects of religious reverence among the Hindus. Never having seen or heard of the Sri Jantra before, and being struck with the identity of the symbol with the decoration of the Royal Arch in Freemasonry, I sent for a Brahman to expound the mystery. He informed me, that an explanation of it would be found in the "*Mantra Mahodadhi*," and the "*Sarada Tilak*," but as he had not a copy of either of those works in his possession, I requested him to give me the substance *vivā voce*. It appeared from his narrative, that the Sri Jantra is a sort of pocket Altar, on which worship may be offered to any Deity; and according to the name of the Deity it is called "*Durgā Jantra*," "*Devī Jantra*," "*Siva Jantra*," &c. Each of the six angles of the hexagon represents a point of the compass, and is named after the three principal gods of the Hindu Pantheon, Brahma, Siva, and Vishnu, and their respective *saktis* or wives, Saraswatī, Pārvatī, and Lakshmī, (vide Plate I, Fig. 1.) The centre of the middle triangle, on the summit of the conical crystal, is called the "*Karnika*," and on this spot, either the image, or the name of the deity to be worshipped must be placed; the Angle dedicated to Brahmā is then placed to the East, and the ceremonies of devotion are proceeded with. Figure 3, Plate I, will give an idea of the eleva-

tion or general appearance of the Jantra. It is intended to represent the flower of the lotus, with the petals turned back. It will be remarked, that immediately below the triangles there are two rows of petals,—one containing eight, and the other sixteen leaves, called “Hasht dal,” and “Shoras dal”. The number of dals or petals varies in each Jantra, according to the deity who is to be worshipped; and each petal has a separate name. The cone, thus formed, rests upon a square base, which represents the earth, and is called “Bhú-pur,” or “city of the earth.” It is not improbable, that the cone is meant to represent the Heavens resting on the Earth; but the Brahman did not give such an explanation of it. In the Sabeian worship of China, Sir J. Davis (p. 70, vol. ii,) states, that the altar of sacrifice to Heaven is round to represent the sky, and that of the earth square²; the Jantra appears to combine the two. In the valley of Nepal near Kathmandu, there is a large hemispherical solid building, called “Sambhunáth,” consecrated to “‘Adi Buddha;” an engraving of which is given in Kirkpatrick’s work on Nepal. The form is very similar to that of the Jantra, but on the summit rises a pagoda with seven stories, representing the seven heavens, (vide Fig. 5, Plate II). The other Jantra is devoted entirely to the second person of the Hindu Trinity, “Sheo” or “Siva,” and is therefore called “Siva Jantra.” Fig. 4 and 5, Plate I, will convey to those who have not an opportunity of inspecting the original, some idea of its form, and the disposition of the triangles. It will be observed, that the triangles are not in a state of union as in the first Jantra, but that there are six Equilateral Triangles, one within the other, forming as it were a pyramid of triangles. The dals or petals are only eight in number, and named after the sun, moon, and the elements which form the chief subjects³ of the hymns of the Vedas.

I found it difficult to ascertain from the Brahman whom I consulted, any distinct account of the origin of this curious symbol; he affected a great mystery on the subject, and all I could gather from him was, that the two Equilateral Triangles intersecting one another in the Sri Jantra, were the emblems of the “Lingam” and “Yoni,” the “Bija” and “Bhag,” or the male and female principles of nature, and of the Deity who is the god of nature.

¹ Figure 2, Plate I, gives a bird’s eye view of the Jantra, showing the leaves of the lotus and double triangle in the centre. Fig. 3 shows the elevation.

² In Egypt, the hieroglyphic sign of the earth was also a square.—Bunsen, p. 534.

³ Asiatic Researches, vol. viii. p. 386..

The analogies derived from a consideration of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, possibly led the Hindu philosophers to conclude that the process of creation was due to the co-existence of these two principles in the divine nature.

In H. T. Colebrooke's translation of parts of the Veda¹, the following passages illustrate this idea. "In the beginning there was no entity nor non-entity—no world nor sky, nor aught above it. Death was not, nor immortality; nor distinction of day or night; but *that* breathed without afflation single with *her* who is sustained within him." Again, in the Vrihad 'Aranyaka, an Upanishad, it is recorded—"The Primeval Being saw nothing but himself in the Universe and said, 'I am I.' He felt not delight being alone—He wished for another and instantly became such—He caused himself to fall in twain and thus become *husband* and *wife*." In the Sâma Veda, it is stated, that "the will to create co-existed with the Deity as his Bride." It is probably the female principle under the name of "Vâch," (translated speech or the word) which calls herself the universal soul. "Originating all Beings I pass like the breeze—I am above this Heaven, beyond this Earth, and what is the Great One, that am I."

* This duality of the Deity seems to have been common to the primeval religions of Egypt and China, and probably of the intermediate regions of Asia. In the former, the Sun, under the name of Osiris, was worshipped as the Generator of All Things, and the Earth under the name of Isis, as the Great Mother, who, under the vivifying rays of the Sun, appeared to bring forth all animated beings, and all vegetable nature². In the great Temple of Isis, under the veiled statue of the goddess, was inscribed the well-known sentence:—"I am what hath been; what is; what shall be; and no mortal hath ever lifted my Veil." In nearly the same words, in the "Kâsi Khand," it is said of "Prakriti," or "Nature," what is Thou art in the Sakti form, and except Thee nothing has ever been." The necessity of the co-operation of a female principle in creation, was further recognized by assigning to each Deity a wife or Sakti. Thus Prakriti is said to have assumed, various forms—Durgâ the Sakti of Siva, Lakshmi of Vishnu—Saraswatî of Brahmâ—Râdhâ of Krishna. The Syrian goddess Astarté, and the Venus Genitrix of the Greeks and Romans, were alike the deifications of the same principle. This is manifested in the beautiful apostrophe to Venus by Lucretius, which, standing

¹ Asiatic Researches, vol. viii. p. 393.

² Bunsen, p. 436, says, "the Triad Isis, Osiris, and Horus resolves itself into a male and female principle. Osiris and Horus being originally identical."

on Cape Misenum, he may be supposed to have poured forth on beholding her bright planet reflected in the blue waters of the Mediterranean.

“Alma Venus ! Cœli subter labentia Signa
 Quæ mare navigerum, quæ terras frugiferentes
 Concelebras : per te quoniam genus omne animantum
 Concepitur, visitque ex ortum lumina solis ;
 Te, Dea, te fugiunt Venti, te nubila Cœli
 Adventumque tuum : tibi suaveis dædala tellus
 Summittit flores : tibi rident æquora ponti
 Placatumque nitet suffuso lumine cælum.

In China, instead of the double triangle, the same principles are typified by the “*Tao Kieh*,” a circle divided by a curved line into two equal parts, (vide Fig. 4, Pl. II), which represent the “*Yáng*” and “*Yin*,” by which all things were produced. The Heaven is “*Yáng*,” and the Earth “*Yin* ;” the Sun “*Yáng*,” and the Moon “*Yin* ;” and so on through all nature—animal, vegetable, and mineral. All odd numbers are male, and all even female. This may be the reason why 3 is considered a holy number, being the union of 1 + 2; also the pentagon 3 + 2; the hexagon 3 + 3, and 7, being 4 + 3, &c. The “*Sing Moo*” or “*Holy Mother*,” is probably identical with *Prakriti*, *Isis*, and *Astarte*.

In page 50, vol. viii., of the *Asiatic Researches*, Mr. R. Patterson states, that *Siva* is represented by an Equilateral Triangle, which signifies the union in him of the three great attributes of creation, preservation, and destruction. This hieroglyphic, he adds, is inscribed on the “*Kumbha Ghata*” or water jar, used by the worshippers of *Siva*, in conjunction with a similar triangle, which represents his wife, or female energy. In vol. iii., p. 365, of the *Asiatic Researches*, another authority, Major Wilford, says that “*Vishnu* (as the sun?) and *Prithiví* (the earth), are severally typified by an Equilateral Triangle, and conjointly, when their powers are supposed to be combined, by two such equal triangles intersecting each other.”

It seems evident, however, that whether under the name of *Siva* and *Durgá*, *Vishnu* and *Prithiví*, or *Brahmá* and *Prakriti*, the same ideas are represented ; viz., the fecundating principles of nature, or perhaps the universal vivifying Spirit acting upon universal inert but conceptive matter, at one time typified by the double triangle, and at another by the *Lingam* and *Yoni*. Each of these principles

¹ Davis's Chinese, vol. ii. p. 62.

had its separate worshippers, who maintained the superior influence of their respective objects of veneration in the production of nature. "This occasioned," says Major Wilford, "not only a vehement religious contest, but even a bloody war between the followers of the Yoni and Lingam." He does not however give any authority for this transaction.

It appears¹ that the Buddhists have also a symbol consisting of triangles, but they are united at their points, instead of intersecting each other. (Vide Fig. 3, plate II.)

In a learned work, by Le Noir, on the subject of Freemasonry, published at Paris in 1811, there is much curious information on the subject of the triangle. He states, that it represented the number three, which among the Jews and Egyptians, was considered the number of perfection. It was also a symbol of the elements and of the sun, because the constellation of the triangle formerly rose with the sun when the vernal equinox was at the point Aries. Hence a triangle was placed in the hands of Isis, Osiris, and Orus, the Egyptian Trinity². It is stated, that four Equilateral Triangles were placed in the centre of their Zodiac, to represent the four Elements, Fire, Air, Earth, and Water, of which the world was supposed to be created. The intersection of these four triangles form a twelve-pointed star in a circle. (Vide Fig. 7, plate II.)

It is possible, that the pyramids of Ghizeh in Egypt, whose sides are formed by four Equilateral Triangles, were intended to be typical of the elements, as well as of the sun. The angles being equilateral are angles of sixty degrees, which corresponds exactly with the height of the sun at the equinox, in the latitude of Ghizeh, viz., thirty degrees. At midday during the equinox, the sun (Osiris) appeared at the summit of the pyramid as on a pedestal; and at night, the moon (Isis) succeeded him. Le Noir states that great festivals were held on these occasions. Though modern researches leave little doubt that the pyramids were the tombs of kings, yet their peculiar form and exact position in the true meridian, facing the four cardinal points of the compass, in some degree favours the opinion of Le Noir, that they may also have been held symbolical of the tomb of Osiris.

¹ B. Asiatic Journal.

² I confess I have been unable to find any trace of the existence of the triangle, as an emblem of the Sun, in the portraits of these Deities, as given by Wilkinson and Bunsen, or in any of the hieroglyphic signs. But it is reasonable to suppose, that Le Noir and other Freemasons had some grounds for their assertion. The Obelisk was the sign of Ammon, and a sharp pointed Pyramid of Sothis, the dogstar, (vide Bunsen), but there is no Equilateral Triangle.

After the autumnal equinox, Osiris was fabled to descend by the gate of brass to his tomb, being no longer visible above the pyramid. At the winter solstice, 21st December, he was supposed to be born again, as Horus in the lap of Isis, and his ascension into Heaven, or entry into the Elysian fields, was fabled to take place through the ivory gate of the vernal equinox, when he again appeared at the summit of the pyramid, as an Apollo in the glory of his youth and vigour.

The ceremonies of initiation into the esoteric doctrines or mysteries at the temples of Isis in Egypt, and of Ceres at Eleusis were symbolical of the progress of the sun through the Zodiac. The Freemasons, according to Le Noir, copied the ceremonies of the two first grades of their craft (apprentice and companion) from those of the Egyptian priests; but the third grade, corresponding to that of master, being confined to persons who entered the priesthood, the ceremonies were never revealed, and it became necessary to invent some others, which they founded on the death of Hiram, an architect, sent by the king of Tyre to Solomon, to assist in building the temple of Jerusalem.

It is a singular fact, that the Double Equilateral Triangle which is engraved on the Sri Jantra, and whose origin and meaning have been above explained, is stated in Kitto's Biblical Encyclopædia, (p. 142, vol. i.) to have formed one of the most usual amulets worn by the Jews, and known by them as the "Shield of David," and the "Seal of Solomon," (vide fig. 1, pl. II); no doubt the seal with which that monarch controlled the Jins and Afrits! Probably on this account it is held in respect by the Mahomedans, and it is found on the walls of their houses, (vide Bibl. Ency. p. 876, vol. i.). It likewise forms the chief ornament of the celebrated so-called gates of Somuáth, taken from the tomb of Mahmúd at Ghazni, (fig. 2, pl. II). It is also remarkable, that the very symbol should have been adopted by the Freemasons, as the decoration of the degree of the royal arch.

The Myth connected with this symbol, as related by Le Noir, is in substance as follows. The system of Freemasonry is assumed to have prevailed among the builders of the temple of Jerusalem. Hiram was no doubt the "Worshipful Master." Three apprentices who were curious to learn the master's sign way-laid Hiram, with a view to compel him to reveal the secret, and on his refusing to do so murdered him. Hiram, on fleeing from his murderers, threw the sacred triangle into a well, where after a long search it was discovered by three of the twenty-seven masters, who were elected to pursue the murderers and recover the lost symbol. To prevent the recurrence

of a similar event, and the risk of losing the sacred triangle, in the centre of which the incommunicable name of God, "JAO" had been inscribed by Solomon, a vault was constructed under the temple unknown to any but the elect ; and the golden triangle was fixed on a tripod, resting on the mystical cubic stone, which as in India, China, and Egypt, probably represented the earth. The vault was then closed up and sealed with the seal of Solomon, and the secret entrusted to the care of the twenty-seven masters and their successors. The celebration of the death of Hiram, (which Le Noir thinks was substituted for the symbolical death of Osiris, the sun, at the autumnal equinox,) constitutes the ceremony at the initiation of the third grade of masons, viz., that of master ; and the recovery of the triangle, and the placing it in the secret vault, form the subject of the initiation of the Grand Master of Scotland. On the taking of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, the key-stone of the arch of the secret vault is said to have given way, and to have discovered to the view of the Knight Templars, the sacred triangle which had been concealed from the world for twenty centuries. This discovery was the origin of the English degree of the royal arch ; and the decoration is an arch, with the sun shining through the aperture caused by the fall of the key-stone upon a Double Equilateral Triangle placed on an altar.

From the statement of another eminent Freemason, it would appear that the Triangle was held to be a sacred symbol, representing nearly the same ideas, by all the nations of the East. Dr. James Burnes, in his address to the Lodge of St. Andrew's, in the East, at Poonah, 24th June, 1847, expressed himself as follows:—"It is not enough to say that the symbol which I hold in my hand, the Triangle within a circle, was used by Zoroaster¹ and Pythagoras six centuries before Christ, to typify what it represents in this place. Ages before this æra it had been exhibited in the pyramids of Egypt, the cave-temples of India, the pagodas of China and Japan, and the grottos of Scandinavia, to shadow forth, as it does here, the unceasing eternity, 'the circle whose centre is everywhere and circumference nowhere,' combined with the infinite wisdom, the omnipotent power, and the glorious beauty of the Great Architect of the Universe ; the light, the mercy and the truth ; the past, the present and to come ; the beginning, middle and end ; the Creator, Preserver and Destroyer of all things."

¹ I have not observed the triangle in any of the engravings lately published by Mr. Layard, of the ruins of Nineveh, nor in Rich's work on Babylon and Persepolis.

It is difficult to determine to what nation this mystical symbol owes its origin; but it seems to have been common to all the primeval religions of Asia, in which the chief objects of Exoteric worship were the sun, planets, and elements of nature, but whose Esoteric doctrine was the existence of one great creative spirit pervading and animating the universe¹.

An Equilateral Triangle, whose sides, however extended, were always equal, and whose angles, however great the space contained, were ever the same, was probably adopted by religious geometricians as the most appropriate emblem of the Immutable and Eternal:

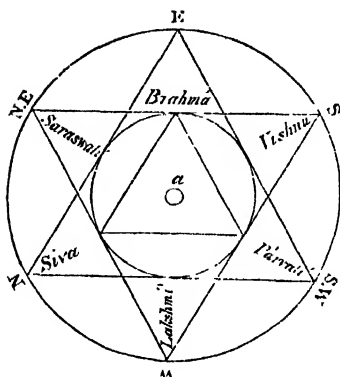
¹ "Other Deities are portions of the three gods, but in fact there is only one deity, 'Mahá 'Atmá,' the great soul. He is called the sun, for he is the Soul of all Beings, the Soul of what moves and of that which is fixed."—Colebrooke's *Trans. of Ved.* p. 387, vol. viii. *Asiatic Researches*.

PLATE I.

1.

SRI JANTRA, OR, KHAT KON CHAKRA.

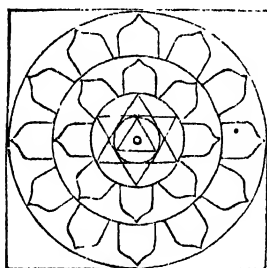
This form is identical with the symbol of the Royal Arch.



a, is the centre or "Karnika" on which the image or name of the Devata is to be placed.

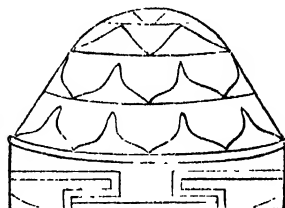
2.

Bird's eye view of the Sri Jantra, showing the leaves of the Lotus, and double triangle forming the centre.



3.

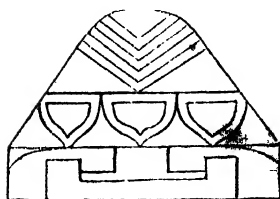
Elevation of the Sri Jantra.



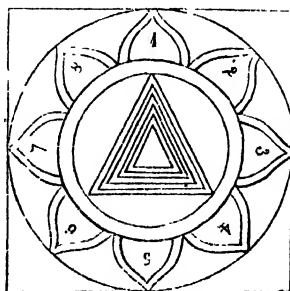
The square base is called "Bhūpur," or the "City of the Earth."

SIVA JANTRA.

4.



Elevation showing the six equilateral triangles.

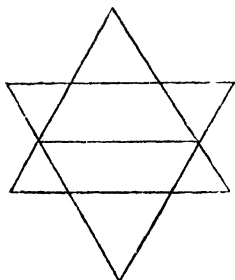


Bird's eye view showing the six triangles and "Haht-dal," or eight leaves, the names of which are,—

- 1 Kshiti — the Earth.
- 2 Jala—Water.
- 3 Soma—Moon.
- 4 Agni—Fire.
- 5 Vāyu—Air.
- 6 Akāśa—Space.
- 7 Sūrya—Sun.
- 8 Yajamāna — The worshipper.

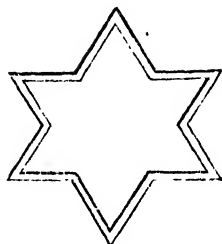
PLATE II.

1.



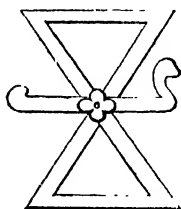
David's Shield and Seal of Solomon.
From Biblical Encyclopædia, vol i,
p. 42

2.



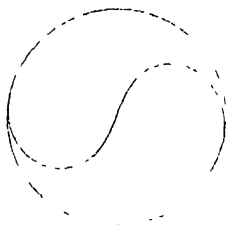
Double triangle carved on the Sam-
nāth Gates, or Doors of the Tomb
of Mahmūd of Ghazni

3.



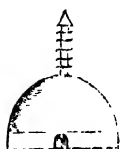
Buddhist double triangle.

4.



The Tae Kieh.

5.



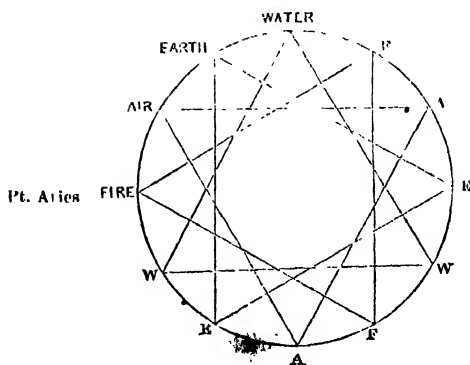
Samhūnāth.

6.



Five-pointed star
on a Greek coin
Pl. I., vol ii,
Journ. Beng.
Asiat Society

7.



Twelve-pointed star formed by four equilateral
triangles in the centre of the Zodiac.

ART. III.—*The Seven Churches of Asia in 1846.* By
CAPTAIN NEWBOLD, F.R.S., &c.

UNDER the impression that any notice, however scant, bearing on the present state of the sites of the Seven Churches of Asia, will not prove wholly unacceptable to the Society, I have ventured to offer a few notes taken during a recent tour to these interesting localities.

In the Revelations, the Divine messages are addressed to the Churches in the following order:—

EPHESUS	SARDIS
SMYRNA	PHILADELPHIA
PERGAMUS	LAODICEA.
THYATIRA	

In point of statistical importance, they rank in the present day below:—

SMYRNA	EPHESUS
PERGAMUS	SARDIS
PHILADELPHIA	LAODICEA.
THYATIRA	

Ephesus, however, still retains its ecclesiastical superiority in giving title to a Greek Archbishop, while the other Churches have only Bishops or Suffragan Bishops at their head, all of the Greek Church, and subject to the Patriarch at Constantinople.

In noticing the sites of the several churches, I shall adhere to the order in which they occur in the Revelations.

EPHESUS.

Ephesus—the Great—the Ornament of Asia—is deserted. The hungry jackal prowls in the grass-covered theatre which echoed back the shouts of the tumultuous citizens, crying “Great is Diana of the Ephesians;” the owl screeches from its lonely walls; a pestiferous marsh, exhaling malaria and death, chokes up its port; while vast disjointed masses of brick and mortar, scattered on the hill of Ayasalúk, alone serve to indicate the site of the Church of St. John, re-erected by Justinian, and where the converts of St. Paul worshipped the only true and living God.

“I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place.” (Rev. ii. 5.)

Ayasalúk, the modern village, stands more than a mile from the ruins, and contains only one Christian hut—that of a Greek Caféji; about forty Turkish cottages are scattered over the hill.

The great marble mosque at its foot no longer resounds with the voices of the Muezzin and Khatib; it is fast participating in the fate of the more ancient buildings. The interior is encumbered with rank vegetation; the marble fountains have long ceased to refresh the air, and in many places the wall has fallen in.

This mosque contains four large granite columns, said to have once formed part of the celebrated temple of Diana. Their circumference (about eleven feet) I found to correspond closely with the dimensions of the broken granite pillars prostrate amid the ruins of the vast structure overlooking the port, or rather the marsh, at the western extremity of the ruins, and which is generally believed to occupy the site of the Temple of Diana. The granite of one of the latter columns has separated in flakes, evidently from the action of intense heat, possibly at the time of the burning of the temple.

The marbles and granite pillars in the mosque appear to have been taken from the ruins of the adjacent church, which itself was probably enriched by the spoils of the temple.

Within the Acropolis on the hill of Ayasalúk, a few paces beyond the gateway, I observed, among the rubbish, a fragment of a sculptured stone, on which was inscribed the legend¹.

ΕΦΕΣΙΟΥ

¹ Mr. W. J. Hamilton, in his interesting *Researches in Asia Minor* (vol. I. p. 541), states that between five and six miles from Ephesus (Ayasalúk), on the Smyrna road, he passed round the eastern foot of Mount Galesus, on the lofty and almost inaccessible summit of which is perched the solitary castle of Getchi Kaleli. He did not visit it himself, and says that he "was not aware that any traveller had visited it, although it would be interesting to ascertain whether such a conspicuous point from all the surrounding country is Hellenic, Byzantine, or even of a still later period. Mr. Arundell suggests the possibility of its having been an old Persian watch-tower." I visited this mountain fortress *en route* to Ephesus; and found it to be Byzantine of a bad style. The position is strong—precipitous on every side, except along the ridge to the north. The castle presents a mere shell, of moderate dimensions, and in shape an irregular rectangle. The walls, about twenty feet high, are flanked by towers, and constructed, like those of several other Byzantine castles, in Asia Minor, of alternate courses of small slates and thicker cut stones, cemented by a hard mortar, containing small fragments of brick and stone. The layers of slate represent the layers of square brick seen in the construction of some Roman fortresses. The entrances are narrow, and square at top. Over the lintel is a small round arch of square brick. The interior is filled with rubbish and vegetation. A few pieces of marble, apparently taken from some older structure, are seen built into the walls. I could not find any inscriptions. The position is very commanding, and was no doubt selected as the key of the pass by the valley of the Cayster, between Ephesus and Smyrna.

SMYRNA.

* The population of Smyrna, which, according to Mr. Hartley, amounted in 1824 to

Turks	..	..	..	45,000
Greeks	..	..	..	15,000
Armenians	..	..	..	8,000
Jews	..	..	..	8,000
Europeans	..	..	..	1,000
Total				77,000

has now increased to

Turks	..	..	..	60,000
Greeks	..	..	..	50,000
Armenians	..	..	..	8,500
Jews	..	..	..	8,000
Levantines and Franks	..	..	..	4,200
Total				130,700

The town is still rapidly enlarging to the south and south-east on the edge of the bay to Windmill Point. The Greeks, who in 1824 had only three churches, have now five; the Latins have three—in 1824, two; and the Protestants two, as formerly. Eight of the nine synagogues of the Jews, and the church of the Lazarists, were destroyed by the great fire in 1841, and are now being rebuilt.

The Greeks possess numerous schools. The Protestant schools established by Mr. Brewer have failed, crushed by the better supported and systematic machinery of the Propaganda, which has a large college. Mr. Lewis, the English chaplain, has established a girls' school.

The Greek Church of Smyrna is presided over by a Bishop under the Patriarch, who resides at Constantinople, and continues in a flourishing state.

“Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.” (Rev. ii. 10.)

PERGAMUS.

Pergamus is in a more flourishing state than all the other Churches, except Smyrna; and, though rebuked for idolatry, received an equally gracious message through St. John.

“I know thy works and where thou dwellest, even where Satan’s seat is: and thou holdest fast my name, and hast not denied my faith, even in those days wherein Antipas was my faithful

martyr, who was slain among you where Satan dwelleth."
(Rev. ii. 13.)

The present population consists of

Turks	..	..	..	14,000
Greeks	..	..	..	1,600
Armenians	..	..	..	300
Jews	..	..	..	100
Total	..	..	..	16,000

In Mr. Smith's time (1671), there were only fifteen families of Christians, and those "badly off."

The Christian quarter occupies the slope of the hill of the Acropolis, on the left bank of the river, and contains two Greek and one Armenian churches. The modern Greek church is a showy gilded edifice; the ancient one, supposed to be that of the Apocalypse, is small, dark, and sombre. Adjoining it is a Greek school, where I found about thirty Greek children, reading portions from the Fathers, seated on the marble tombstones which formed the pavement of the school. The adjoining Greek burial ground is crowded with marble tombstones, some of which bear inscriptions of considerable antiquity.

On two stones, built into the wall of a house in the street leading to the church, the following inscriptions occur:

No. 1.

ΔΤΑΙΩ ΞΙΗΣ ΔΙΝΕΝΟΜΕΝ	ΑΥΞΑ
ΑΙΑΙΣΙΔΟΤΟΣΟΠΡΑΟΣΙΔΙΑΙ	ΑΥΞΑ
ΓΕΩΜΕΤΡΗΣ	ΑΥΞΑ
ΙΔΙΗΔΕΙΣΗΚΑΛΗΜΕΤΡΙΟΤΗΤΙ	ΑΥΞΑ
ΕΤΙΜΗΘΗΤΗΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ	ΑΥΞΑ

No. 2.

ΑΡΧΙΤΕΚΤΩΝ	
ΘΙΟΙΣΑΙΤΕΧΝΕΙΤΑΙΣΙΕΡΟΙΣ	
ΝΕΙΚΟΔΗΜΟΣΑΓΑΘΟΣΑΜΑΔΗΟΚΑΙ	
ΝΕΙΚΩΝΕΟΣ	
ΗΣΦΑΛΙΣΑΓΟΚΑΙΚΟΣΜΗΣΕΑΠΑΣΙ	
ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΙΟΝΠΕΡΙΠΑΤΟΝΙΔΙΗΦΙΑΟΤΕΙΜΙΝΙ	
ΕΝΒΙΩΔΕΚΑΛΟΝΕΡΤΟΝΕΝΜΟΝΟΝΕΥΠΟΗΑ	ΒΡΙΠΞ

No. 3 occurs on a stone built into the wall of a khan in the heart of the city—

No. 3.

ΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΑΝ
ΑΥΔΙΑΝΑΑΚΙΜΟΥΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑΑΚΚΑΝ
ΙΞΞΕΡΑΚΑΛΥΔΙΑΣΑΑΚΙΜΙΛΑΗΣΙΕΡΕΙΑΣ
ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥΚΑΙΠΟΛΙΑΔΟΣΑΘΗΝΑΣ
ΠΑΣΗΣΑΡΕΤΗΣΕΝΕΚΑ

The following Roman characters are inscribed on a stone in the wall of the Turkish burial ground:—

CF·TI
SAMEI
AOR·FV

A mosque in the city, on the left bank of the river, has been pointed out as formerly being a church of the early Christians. From the style of architecture (Moorish), and its having no bema at the eastern end, I should doubt its having been originally intended for a church.

THYATIRA.

Thyatira, the fourth Church of the Apocalypse, had entirely disappeared after the fall of the Byzantine Empire, until again brought to light under the Turkish name of Aksá, or Ak Hissar, towards the close of the seventeenth century.

Mr. Smith, the English Chaplain, and Sir Paul Rycaut, the English Consul at Smyrna, claim the merit of this discovery.

It is still a flourishing town, containing about 2000 Greeks, 120 Armenians, and 8000 Turks.

“That which ye have already, hold fast till I come.” (Rev. ii. 25.)

The Greeks and Armenians have each a church here. That of the Greeks is said to be the most ancient, and, the priest informed me, is built on the foundations, still visible, of the Church of the Apocalypse. It is a small but neat structure. In the churchyard the following inscription appears on a marble trough:

No. 1.

NENEΛΑΟΝ
ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑΚΑΙ
ΑΡΧΟΝΔΙΑΒΙΟΥ
ΑΣΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣΚΑΙΑ
ΩΝΟΘΕΤΗΝΥΠΟΔ
ΑΜΕΝΟΝ ΜΙΑΥΡΗΑΙΟΝ
ΑΝΤΟΝΕΙΝΟΝΒΑΣΙΑΕ
ΑΚΑΙΤΡΙΣΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΣΑΝ
ΤΑΠΡΟΣΤΟΥΣΑΥΤΟ
ΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΣΠΡΟΙΚΑΚΑΙ
ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΣΑΜΕΝΟΝ
ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΑΣΙΑΒ
ΧΟΥΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΟΝΚΑΙΑ
ΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΟΥΚΑΙΑΡΧΙΕ
ΡΕΩΣΚΑΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟ
ΡΟΥΔΙΣ ΗΣΠΑΤΡΙΔΟ
ΑΙΦΟ ΑΣΠΑΥΛΛΗΣ
ΡΥΤΑΜΕΩΣΕΦΗΣΙΩΝ
ΙΠΡΕΣΙΣ ΕΙΛΑΤΗΠΡΟΣ
ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΑΣ
ΙΠΡΑ ΡΕΣ

No. 2 is copied from a slab of marble in the churchyard.

No. 2.

Κ Α - ΤΥΤΥΧΙΑΚΑΤΕΕΚΤΥ		
Α		Ν
ΤΩ	ΕΛΦΩΚΑΙΕΜΙ	Ν
ΤΩ	ΥΝΒΙΩΚΑΙΤΕΚΝΟ	Κ
ΕΙ	ΟΝΟΙΣΚΑΙΟΡΕΜΜΑ	Ι
ΚΙ	ΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΩΤΩΑΙ	Ω
Τ-Ι	ΟΥΓΑΤΡΟΣΜΟΥΚΑ	Υ
ΠΙ	ΡΟΚΑΩΚΑΙΥΝΑΙ	Α
ΤΟ	ΣΤΡΑΤ-Ι-Γ-ΙΔ-ΙΚΑΙ	Ν
ΑΥ	ΟΥΜ-ΙΔΕΝΟΣΕΧΟΝ	Ε
ΡΘ	ΣΟΥΣΙΑΝ'ΕΘΗΝΑ	ΙΣ
Μ		ΑΓ
ΤΑΠΟΤΗΣΕ		ΕΞΑΛΛΟΤΡΙΩ

No. 3. From a stone reversed in wall of street.

ΙΒΟΥΛΗΠΑΡΕΑΥ
 ΙΗ ... ΚΑ' ΙΟΥΛΑ-ΠΟΛ
 ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΝΑΝΔ
 ΠΡΟΤΟΥΙ ... ΝΟΥΣ
 ΑΤΟΣΕΝΤΙ ... ΠΑΡΧ
 Α ... ΜΗ ... ΑΝΟΥ-Ι
 ΧΙ-Π ... ΟΣΟΕΝ ... ΟΣΟΥΙ
 ΙΣΒΟΥΛΗΣ ... ΩΝΟ
 ΟΝΩΝ ... ΑΡΙΣΤ

The following fragments occur in the Armenian churchyard:—

No. 4.

ΘΥΑΤΕΙΡΕΚΑΙΕ

No. 5.

ΜΗΔΕΝ
 ΤΟΥΣΤ

A brass coin, which I picked up, bore on one side the head of a Roman emperor, and on the reverse a lion passant, with the device—
 ΘΥΑΤΕΙΡΗΝΩΝ.

At Marmara, between Thyatira and Sardis, besides the inscription in the market place, copied by Mr. Arundell, I found the following fragments:—

No. 1.

ΜΕΡΙΜΝ ... ΑΝΠΙ
 ΑΜΕΡ ... ΧΑ
 ... ΚΑΙΑΜΕΡΙΜΙ
 ... ΣΟΙΥΙΟΥ
 ... ΣΙΜΟΣΚΑΙ

... ΕΛΠΙ ...
 ΜΝΕΙΑΣΧΑΡΙΝ

No. 2.

ΚΑΙΑΠΙ ΙΑ ΕΡΣΙΚΗΚΑΙ ΔΗΜΟ
ΓΑΥΚΟ Η ΙΑΡΟΣΜΗ ΟΥ ΟΝ

On pedestal in the khan at Kirkatch, between Thyatira and Pergamus, is the following fragment:—

Τ ΟΦΙΜΟΕ
ΚΑΙΕ ΔΙΗΡΟ
ΑΔΙΤΟ ΟΑΙ Ε

SARDIS.

Sardis, lady of kingdoms, vying with Memphis in antiquity, once the proud capital of Cræsus, fifth of the Churches, and subsequently selected as the place of convention of several General Councils, is now more forlorn than even Ephesus. A Turkish cafinet, mill, and shop of a poor Greek vendor of provisions and spirits linger on its deserted site, while a few black tents of the wandering Yerooks speckle the neighbouring hills and the borders of the famous Pactolus. The thousand mounds, among which the tumulus of Alyattes rises conspicuous, the Necropolis of the Lydian kings, and the melancholy shores of the Gygean Lake, the intervening flat swampy plain of the Hermus, seen from the heights of Mount Tmolus, on whose declivities the ruins of Sardis are scattered, by no means diminish the solemn air of sadness which prevails around.

“I know thy works, that thou hast a name, that thou livest and art dead.” (Rev. iii. 1.)

Two massive buildings, near the mill at the bottom of the hill, are said to have formerly been churches. The highest on the acclivity is supposed to have been the Church of the Apocalypse. It is now roofless, and four only of the buttresses which originally strengthened the wall, and from which sprang the massive brick arches of the roof, are left standing. The walls are in great part made up of portions of marble pillars, entablatures of the Corinthian and Ionic architecture, with which the capital of Lydia was so richly embellished. This building must, therefore, be posterior to the destruction of the Pagan temples, as Mr. Hamilton justly observes. The buttresses are partly composed of white marble. The bema, if any existed, is gone, as well as the opposite extremity of the wall.

The structure lower down is evidently of older date, built of cut stone, with marble buttresses and a brick arched roof, which has fallen in. It is seventy-eight paces long by fifteen, and had semicircular

terminations at the east and west ends, which projected externally, as is evident by the direction of the broken ends of the wall. Mr. Hamilton, however, is of opinion that these bema-like terminations did not appear externally (vol. I. p. 14). They are common to many similar massive structures in Asia Minor.

The stream which turns the mill of Sardis is not the Pactolus, as some have supposed. The Pactolus emerges from a gorge in Mount Tmolus, a few hundred paces to the west of this stream, by the ruins of the gigantic Ionic temple of Cybele, through the plain of Sardis, to the Hermus. The golden sands of this river, *πακτωλὸν ἔυχρυσόν*, could scarcely have derived their appellation from the gold they produced, as they are not auriferous, or from their colour, which is a light reddish brown, and not yellow. It glitters with numberless particles of mica, often gold-coloured, whence, perhaps, the epithet. The bed of the river contains rounded pebbles of mica-slate, clay-slate, limestone, quartz, jasper, and basanite, or Lydian stone, brought down from the steepes of Tmolus.

The opening of some of the singular tumuli, composing the Necropolis of the Lydian kings, more especially that of Alyattes, is a desideratum to which I would fain direct the attention of the Society. It is probable their interior will be found to correspond with those singular tombs (supposed those of the Pelopides) on the hills near Bournabat, overlooking the Gulf of Smyrna. In case of this suggestion being carried into execution, it would be advisable to open some of the smaller tumuli, with a view to ascertain the mode of construction, previous to attacking the tomb of Alyattes.

PHILADELPHIA.

Philadelphia, the sixth of the Churches, now ranks after Smyrna and Pergamus in point of population, which amounts to 10,000 Turks and 3000 Greeks. It boasts of 25 churches, in 20 of which, however, service is performed only once a year. They are all small and mean, and contained many fragments of columns and ancient sculpture.

A massive ruined pile, which had once an arched brick roof, like the structures at Sardis, was pointed out to me as the Church of the Apocalypse. On the road to this church I observed two inscriptions; the first on a sarcophagus used as a fountain, and the second on a stone reversed, built into a wall at the angle of a street.

No. 1.

ΓΑΙΟΥ ΙΟΥΑΙΟΥ ΤΥΠΑΝΟΥ
 ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΕΑΙ

No. 2.

ΦΛΑΙΧΕΛΛΑΟΝ
 ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΝΟΥΠΑ
 WKON
 ΠΙΜΕΛΗΘΕΝΤΟΣ
 ΤΩΣΑΝΤΑΣΕΩΣ
 ΓΑΥΚΩ ΠΑΠΙΟΥ
 ΑΥΙΟΥΥΛΑΙΧΟΥ

On one of the fountains outside the town is a bas-relief, in bad style, representing a gazelle-hunt. Many fragments of marble, with bas-reliefs, entablatures, &c., are seen in the walls of private houses.

By the Turks, Philadelphia is now called Allah Shahr (God's city)—a name which, as Mr. Hamilton correctly observes (vol. II. p. 376), has sometimes been supposed (erroneously) to be the explanation of the words addressed to that church, "the name of the city of my God." Its present comparative flourishing state, however, bears forcibly on the message of grace addressed to it by St. John:

"I know thy works: behold, I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it; for thou hast a little strength, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name." (Rev. iii. 8.)

Philadelphia is the residence of a Greek bishop, who adds to this title those of Laodicea, Hierapolis, and Colossæ.

LAODICEA,

The seventh and last of the Churches, the very site of which had been forgotten for centuries, was brought to light again, under its present name (Eski Hissar) by Mr. Smith and Sir Paul Rycaut towards the close of the seventeenth century. It was then, and is now, a melancholy mass of deserted ruins.

"Because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth." (Rev. iii. 16.)

The ruins of an ancient church still exist.

The hills on which Laodicea stands have been supposed by some travellers to be of volcanic origin; but they are entirely composed of aqueous beds, consisting of layers of marly chalky limestone, both compact and cellular, overlaid in some places by a loose micaceous sand-stone and pudding-stone. The surface of the hills is frequently covered with a rolled gravel of mica slate and quartz pebbles, derived from the lofty ridges of Cadmus (Baba Dagħ). These beds have been shaken and fissured by the numberless earthquakes which have convulsed this part of Asia Minor; but they still maintain their nearly horizontal position.

ART. IV.—*Ancient Sepulchres of Pánduvaram Déwal, in Southern India.* By CAPTAIN NEWBOLD, F.R.S., &c.

ABOUT three miles and a half to the E. N. E. of Chittoor, in North Arcot, lie the ancient sepulchres called Pánduvaram Déwal, in a secluded valley, hemmed in by rocks. The head of the valley is closed by a spur from the Eastern Ghauts, running nearly north and south. Through an abrupt transverse break in this ridge the stream which waters the valley runs to the Poinay river, which it joins about a mile further east. Beyond, and blue in the distance, a mass of irregular and strongly indented rocks closes the view to the eastward.

Having passed over the ridge from the Chittoor side by a narrow stone causeway, and descended into this apparently isolated spot, I was astonished to find myself among the cromlech-like monuments of a race of which tradition even is silent. It was not yet dawn, but the pyramid of faint Aurora Borealis-like light, usually preceding it in India, and the stars, which glimmered brightly, threw an obscure light over the whole, in which the fantastic piles of grey granite, the tors, and logging-stones seemed to form part of this silent city of the dead, and harmonized strangely in their ghastly greyness with the unearthly aspect of the scene. As if nothing should be wanting to heighten the effect, sheets of summer lightning ever and anon lent their livid colouring to the scene.

Seated on one of the tombs, I awaited the breaking of day in silent enjoyment.

Dawn came at length, and I found myself in the midst of prostrate sepulchres, irregularly covering an area of more than a square mile. Having roused the Reddis, Karnams, and Taláris of a small village on the spot, I put myself under their guidance, and proceeded to a closer and more sober inspection of the locality than the stars and sheet-lightning, eked out by imagination, had afforded.

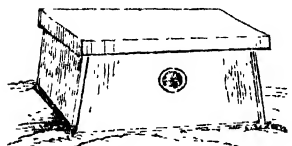
To the right of the causeway the tombs were scanty, so we bent our course to the left, in the direction of the river. Here the valley, near the base of the hill, was completely covered with the great unhewn slabs, circles, and mounds of prostrate tombs. Two or three only had been left standing by the sacrilegious hands of the Indian quarriers and stone-masons—the Wudras—who, finding the enormous rough blocks and slabs of granite used in their construction more convenient than cutting them out of the adjacent rock, have not scrupled to violate the sanctuary of the dead.

Other hands, still less scrupulous,—those of the hidden-treasure hunter and the antiquarian,—have assisted to scatter around the human bones and the fragments of the terra-cotta sarcophagi and vessels which the slabs once covered.

On the ascent of the rocky ridge overlooking this great cemetery, the guides conducted me to three large tombs in tolerable preservation, surrounded by the remains of many others.

The most perfect of the three lies to the N. E. of the group, crowning the summit of a high boss of bare rock.

It consists, like most of the rest, of an enormous nearly-square slab of granite or gneiss laid flat on the bottom: this forms the floor. Four similar slabs, placed vertically on it, on their edges, constitute the sides; and another, still larger, placed horizontally on their top, forms an



overhanging roof.

The tombs are usually surrounded by one or two circles of stones, placed upright on their edges. The stones at the head and foot of the tombs are higher usually than the rest. Earth is often piled up in the interior and round the sides, giving the whole the appearance of standing on a low mound. Through one of the side slabs is cut a circular aperture, large enough to admit a moderate sized man's body, generally a little more than eighteen inches in diameter. The sarcophagi containing the bodies are placed on the floor-slab, and covered, to the depth of three or four feet, with earth. In many instances, the lower part of the tomb is sunk into the earth itself.

The side slabs of the tomb in question do not rise above two feet above the surface of the earth and rubbish which cover their base. The circular hole is in the side slab, facing the N. E. The major axis of the tomb runs N. E. Having crept through the aperture, I found the interior nearly filled with earth and stones. The lips of the apertures are often much worn, as if by the constant friction of persons squeezing themselves in. These small apertures, and the lowness of the interior (being, as I have observed, filled to the depth of three or four feet) gave colouring to the vulgar tradition that this great cemetery was nothing less than a city of pigmies. The size of the bones of its once occupants fully disproves all fancies of this kind.

The slab forming the roof measures 13 feet by 12, and its average thickness $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It projects 18 inches beyond the side walls, and is larger, though not so thick, as the roof slab of the great cromlech near Plas Newydd, in Anglesea, which measures 12 feet 7 inches by 12 feet,—a curious similarity.

The tomb, a pace or two to the S.W. of this, is less perfect. One of the side-slabs has been taken away, and the earth and sarcophagus removed from the interior, leaving the floor-slab exposed. The circular aperture, which is made in the side facing to the S. E., has been enlarged into a complete gap; but from the segment of the circle still remaining, it is evident that it did not differ in dimensions from that in the tomb already described.

The interior measurements of the side-slabs are—

Height	5 to 5½ feet, east side highest.
Length	9¼ feet.
Breadth	7¼ „

The interior contained nothing but a few fragments of stone, and a circular flat piece of granite, intended, probably, for a mill-stone.

Tomb No. 3 lies a few paces S. W. from No. 2. It is of similar construction, and in tolerable preservation. The circular aperture faces in a direction not corresponding with those of Nos. 1 and 2.

I dug through the earth and rubbish which partially filled the interior, but found that it had been rifled of its contents.

Leaving the sepulchres on the hill, I descended to those in the valley at the base; and, having selected one which had evidently never been disturbed, immediately commenced operations. The earth dug through was of brick-like hardness, and encumbered with roots of bushes. At about a foot below the surface, we came to the top of the terra-cotta sarcophagus, and with great difficulty succeeded in clearing it in an almost perfect state.

It was a coffin-shaped trough, rounded at the extremities, and deeply rimmed at the edges, 6½ feet long, 10 inches deep, and from 1 foot 10 inches to 3 feet broad. It was filled with hard earth and human bones. At A, which lay to the east, were the fragments of a skull, and pieces of pottery.



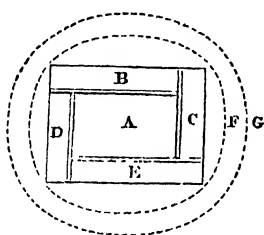
It stood on eight hollow terra-cotta legs, which rested on the floor-slab of the tomb, 1 foot 3 inches long, and about 3½ inches in diameter at top, tapering gradually at the bottom, which terminates in two convex rims thus.

Beneath the head of the sarcophagus, on the floor-slab, stood a small elegantly-shaped vase of fine black clay, filled with ashes and earth. Others, of common red terra-cotta, stood below, which were filled with earth. The villagers state they have found rice in them.



A large nest of white ants was found under the sarcophagus; this may account for the disappearance of the rice, which it is possible,

like the wheat in the mummy-pits of Egypt, may have been preserved for ages in the dry climate of India. It is probable that the rice, according to ancient Chinese and Tartar custom, was intended for the use of the deceased in Hades, and that some of the other vessels contained water. They differ essentially in shape from the common terra-cotta vessels of India now in use, but do not indicate any former greater state of refinement. Spear-heads and swords of an antique fashion, masses of crumbling rust, have been found by the villagers under the sarcophagi. The annexed diagram will give some idea of the ground-plan of one of these tombs.



A is the great floor slab.

B, C, D, E, the four side-slabs on their edges.

F, G, the outer circles of slabs on their edges.

* No inscriptions or sculptures were found. I have observed similar sepulchres, though not covered by cromlechs, surrounded by similar circles of about 18 feet in diameter, at the Red Hills, and scattered in secluded positions over various parts of Southern India. They exist on the Nilgherries, but nowhere in such great abundance as at Pánduvaram Déwal. I assembled the Brahmans of the village, and asked them whether they had any written history of the spot, or of the city to which so extensive a cemetery belonged. They answered in the negative; but referred the tombs to the Pándus of the heroic age, as they do everything which they are at a loss to account for.

The absence of the remains of a town or city in the vicinity may either be regarded as an indication of the high antiquity of these Cyclopean sepulchres, which have survived the obliteration of the more slenderly constructed habitations of their occupants while living; or more probably that the tribes who constructed them were nomades, who dwelt in tents or in rudely-constructed huts. The number of the tombs clearly shows that the people, if a nomade tribe, must have made a long sojourn in this locality. That they must have been a people little advanced in the arts is evident from the absence of all sculpture, embellishment, and inscriptions. Their pottery, however, is often of a very fine description; and that they were acquainted with the art of smelting and working iron, is clear from the implements found.

It is curious that no chisel marks are found on the vast blocks which they have managed to separate, by fire and wedge probably, from the neighbouring granitic rocks; and that the circular apertures through the centre of the side slabs appear to have been knocked through by a hammer or hard stone, and yet done with considerable nicety. The present Wudras (stone quarriers) look at them with astonishment, and say they must have been the work of the Rákshasas, or giants of old. The exterior of the blocks presents as time-worn an aspect as that of the rocks whence they were taken; whereas the blocks in the quarries of Syene and Bijanugger look as fresh as if hewn yesterday.

It is well known that when the Brahmins originally settled in Southern India, they found it occupied by sects of Buddhists, and by races of men who, from their savage mode of life, dwelling among rocks and forests, and their determined hostility to the new comers, they are pleased to term Rákshasas—giants, or evil demons.

In course of time, many of these tribes were converted to Brahmanism; the rest took refuge in the mountains and most inaccessible parts of the country. The Khonds, Chenchwars, and other half savage tribes that now inhabit the jungles of the Ghauts, are supposed to be their descendants. Yet we look in vain among the haunts of these tribes for sepulchres like those I have attempted to describe.

It is certain that they are not those of any of the sects of Buddha, Jineswara, or Brahma, or of the snake-worshippers who preceded them.

Whose bones, then, do these huge blocks of granite cover?

Throw down one of the side slabs, with its circular aperture, of the sepulchre of Pánduvaram Déwal, and we have the cromlech or dolmen. Clear away the Cyclopean superstructure, and we behold the Druidical circles and the cairn. If we turn our eyes northerly to the mountains of Circassia, we there start with surprise on seeing an absolute fac-simile of the mysterious tombs of Southern India, with the circular aperture complete. (*Vide* engraving in Bell's Circassia). The Circassian sepulchre is similarly beyond the reach of history. Nor is it difficult to find a family resemblance to the Indian circles and mounds, with their contents of human bones, spear-heads, ashes, and pottery, in those which so thickly stud the vast steppes of Tartary and Northern Europe. They appear to me to be the almost only tangible vestiges remaining to us, except Holy Writ, of certain similarities in the languages of nations now wide asunder, and the traditions which prevail in almost every Eastern nation, of an extensive migration, at a period of high antiquity, of one family of the

human race, radiating in various directions from one given centre, at a time "when the whole earth was of one family and one speech," which the Lord confounded, and from thence "did scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth;" in a word, they are the foot-marks of the builders of Babel, witnesses of the truth of sacred history—all eloquent in their silence, similarity, and distinctness.

It is not a little curious that similar ideas of construction of cromlechs by supernatural means, by dwarfs, and fairies, &c., should obtain both in India and Europe. But I have already observed that the bones found in those of India, and the dimensions of the sarcophagi themselves, do not indicate either that the inmates were dwarfs, or that the human race has at all degenerated in stature since the time in which these skeletons were animate. I also found this to hold good in the measurement of many of the male mummies which lived two thousand years ago in Memphis.

ART. V. *On the Sacrifice of Human Beings as an Element of the Ancient Religion of India.* BY PROFESSOR H. H. WILSON, Director.

[Read 20th April, 1850.]

I PROPOSE to offer to the Society some illustrations of the sacrifice of human beings as an element of the ancient religion of India.

In the first book of the Rāmáyana a curious legend is narrated of the son of the Rishi Richika, named S'unahséphas, who was sold by his father for a hundred thousand cows to Ambarisha, the king of Ayodhyá, to supply the place of a sacrificial animal or victim¹ intended for a sacrifice, but stolen by Indra. S'unahséphas is accordingly conveyed to the place of sacrifice, and being dressed in red garments and decorated with garlands of red flowers, is bound to the stake. By the advice of Viśwámitra he prays to Indra and Agni with two sacred verses (gáthás, according to Schlegel's edition; richas, in Gorresio's) communicated to him by the Rishi, and Indra bestows upon him long life, whilst at the same time the king is not disappointed of his reward. This version of the legend leaves it doubtful whether an actual sacrifice of the victim, or one only typical, is intended.

The reference made in the Rāmáyana to the *sacred verses* by which S'unahséphas propitiated Indra, might lead us to expect some account of the transaction in the text of the Veda; and accordingly, in the first Ashṭaka of the *Rig-veda* the sixth section contains a series of seven hymns, attributed to S'unahséphas, who addresses different divinities in succession. The object of his prayers is not, however, very decidedly pronounced, and in many respects they resemble those of any other worshipper soliciting food, wealth, cattle, and long life; and although liberation from bonds is asked for, yet the text itself intimates that these are only figurative, being the fetters of sin. Neither does it appear that any of the deities called upon rescue him from any situation of personal peril, and the recompense of his praises is the gift of a

¹ Schlegel's reading is *yajna-pas'u*, which he renders simply by *victima*. Gorresio's text is more explicit: in the first place the victim is carried off from the post whilst the king is engaged, *nara-medhena*, "intanto ch'egli offriva un sacrificio umano;" and in the next, it is said, in a rather questionable hemistich, however, that the theft was a man endowed with all lucky marks, appointed to be a victim, *naram lakṣhaṇa-sampúrṇam pasutwe niyojitam*. Schlegel's edition also has a passage to the same purport, that the stolen victim is to be recovered, or a man substituted in its place, and virtually, therefore, the two editions agree, although not exactly in words.

golden chariot by Indra, a present rather incompatible with his position as an intended victim. Hence the late Dr. Rosen was led to infer that the Vaidik hymn, except in one or two doubtful passages, bore no relation to the legend of the Rámáyāṇa, and offered no indication of a human victim deprecating death.—“In nullo autem horum carminum (si initium hymni quatuor-vigentesimi excipias, quod sane ita intelligi potest) ne levissimum quidem indicium hominis in vitæ discrimen vocati et mortem deprecantis.”

Whatever may be the conclusions to be drawn from the legend of Śanalśephas as it appears in the Rámáyāṇa or in the Rig veda, there is no question of its purport as it is found in the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa which is considered to be the Bráhmaṇa portion of the Rig-veda; and as the story as there told is characteristic of the style of that and similar works, the precise nature of which is yet but little known, none having been translated or printed, and as several curious circumstances are comprised in the tradition, it will not perhaps be uninteresting to have the story as it is there narrated.

Harīśchandra the son of Vedhas, was a prince of the race of Ikshváku: he had a hundred wives, but no son. On one occasion the two sages, Nárada and Parvata were residing in his palace; and he said one day to Nárada, “Tell me, why do all creatures, whether possessed of intelligence or devoid of it, desire male progeny? What benefit is derived from a son?” Nárada thus replied: “A father who beholds the face of a living son discharges his debt [to his forefathers], and obtains immortality. Whatever benefits accrue to living beings upon earth, in fire, or in water, a father finds still more in his son. A father, by the birth of a son, traverses the great darkness [of both worlds]. He is born as it were of himself, and the son is a well freighted boat to bear him across [the ocean of misery]. What matter the impurity [of childhood], the skin* [of the student], the beard [of the householder], the penance [of the hermit]. Wish, Brahmans, for a son, for he is a world without reproach. Food, vital air, vesture, dwelling, gold, beauty, cattle, wedlock, a friend, a wife, a daughter, are all contemptible: a son is the light [that elevates his father] to the highest heaven. The husband is himself conceived by his wife, who becomes as it were his mother, and by her in the tenth month he is newly born; therefore is a wife termed genitrix (jáyá), for of her is a man born again (jáyate). Gods and Rishis implant in her great lustre, and the Gods say to men, this is your parent. There is no world for one without a son. This even know the beasts of the field, and to beget offspring pair indiscriminately with their kind. [A son] is the much-commended certain path to

happiness, by which all [rational] beings having male progeny travel; and birds and beasts are conscious of the same."

Having repeated verses to this effect, Nárada advised Hariśchandra to pray to Varuṇa for a son, promising to present him as an offering to that divinity. "So be it," said the prince; and repairing to Varuṇa he said: "Let a son be born unto me, and with him, I will sacrifice to you."—"So be it," said Varuṇa, and a son was born to the king, who was named Rohita. "A son has been born to you," said Varuṇa, "sacrifice with him to me."—"An animal," replied the king, "is fit for sacrifice only after ten days from birth. When the term of purification shall have passed, I will sacrifice to you."—"Very well," said Varuṇa. The ten days expired, and Varuṇa said, "Now sacrifice with him to me." The king replied, "An animal is fit for sacrifice only when the teeth are cut; let the teeth come through, and then I will sacrifice to you." Varuṇa consented: the teeth were cut: "and now," said Varuṇa, "sacrifice with him to me."—"No," replied the king, "an animal is fit for sacrifice only when the first teeth are shed: let the teeth be shed, and then I will sacrifice to you."—"So be it," said Varuṇa.

Well, the teeth were shed; "And now," said Varuṇa, "sacrifice with him to me."—"No," objected the king; "an animal is fit for sacrifice only when his [second] set of teeth are through; wait till then, and I will perform the sacrifice." Varuṇa assented. The second teeth were cut. "Now," said Varuṇa, "his teeth are produced; sacrifice with him to me."—"No," replied the king, "for a kshatriya is not fit for sacrifice until he has been invested with arms: let him receive his martial investiture, then I will sacrifice to you."—"So be it," said Varuṇa. The youth grew, and was invested with arms; and Varuṇa said, "now sacrifice to me with him." The king replied, "Be it so." But he called his son, and said, "My child, Varuṇa gave you to me, and I have also promised to sacrifice with you to him."—"By no means," said the youth; and taking his bow, he set off to the forest, where he wandered for a twelvemonth.

Upon Rohita's disappearance Varuṇa afflicted the descendant of Ikshváku with dropsy; which when Rohita heard he set off to return home. On the way he was met by Indra in the shape of a Brahman, who said to him, "We have heard Rohita, that prosperity attends him who undergoes great labour, and that a man, although excellent, is held in disesteem if he tarries amongst his kin. Indra is the friend of the wanderer, therefore do thou wander on—wander on." Thus spake the Brahman; and Rohita passed a second year in the woods.

At the end of that period he turned towards home, but Indra, as a

mortal, again met him, and said, "The feet of the traveller bear flowers, his body grows and puts forth fruit. All his sins are effaced by the fatigue he incurs in travelling a good road and they fall asleep. Wander on, therefore—wander on." So said the Brahman; and Rohita spent another year in the woods.¹

At the end of the third year the prince resumed his journey homewards. He was met as before by Indra in a human form, who said to him, "The prosperity of a man who sits down inactive, sits also still. It rises up when he rises, it slumbers when he sleeps, and moves when he moves. Wander on, therefore—persist—wander on;" and Rohita remained a fourth year in the forests.

At the end of the fourth year, Rohita was again stopped by Indra, who said, "The sleeper is the Kali age; the awaker is the Dwápara; the riser is the Treta, but the mover is the Krita age. Wander on, therefore—wander on;" and Rohita tarried a fifth year in the woods.

At the close of the fifth year he was returning home, but as before Indra encountered him, and said, "The wanderer finds honey—the wanderer finds the sweet fig tree. Behold the glory of the Sun, who, ever-moving, never reposes. Wander on, therefore—wander on." So Rohita returned for the sixth year to the forests.

Whilst wandering thus in the woods he encountered the Rishi Ajigartta, the son of Suyavasa, who was distressed through want of food. He had three sons, S'unahpuchela, S'unahséphas, and S'unalángula. Rohita said to him, "Rishi, I will give thee a hundred cows for one of these thy sons, that by him I may redeem myself." But the Rishi, taking hold of the eldest, said, "Not this one;" "No, nor this one," said the mother, securing the youngest; but they both agreed to sell the middle son S'unahséphas, and Rohita having paid the hundred cows, took the youth and departed from the woods. He proceeded to his father and said, "Rejoice, father, for with this youth shall I redeem myself." So Hariśchandra had recourse to the royal Varuṇa, and said, "With this youth will I sacrifice to you." And Varuṇa replied, "Be it so—a Brahman is better than a Kshatriya;" and thence directed the king to perform the sacrificial ceremony termed the Rājasúya; and he, on the day of initiation, appointed S'unahséphas to be the human victim.

At that sacrifice of Hariśchandra, Viśwámitra was the Hotri or reciter of the Rich; Jamadagni, the Adhwaryu, or repeater of the Yajush; Vasiṣṭha, the Brahmá or superintending priest, and Yánya the Udgátri, or chaunter of the Sáma; but they had no one who was com-

¹ Prapathi. The commentary says, "in going to tirthas," &c.

petent to perform the office of binding the victim, when consecrated, to the stake, whereupon Ajigartta said, "If you give me another hundred cows I will perform the duty;" and they gave him the cows, and he bound the victim. But for the victim thus consecrated and bound, sanctified by the divinities of sacrifice, and thrice circumambulated by the priests bearing burning brands of sacred grass, no immolator could be found [amongst the ministrant Brahmans], when Ajigartta again offered himself, saying, "Give me another hundred cows and I will immolate him;" accordingly they gave him the cows, and he went forth to sharpen his knife.¹ In this interval S'unahséphas reflected, "These [people] will put me to death as if I were not a man² but an animal; my only hope is the aid of some of the gods, to whom I will have recourse." So thinking, he prayed to Prajapati, the first of the gods, with the prayer 'Kasya nūnam,' &c.; but Prajapati said, "Agni is the nearest of the gods, appeal to him." He did so, saying, 'Agner vayam:' on which Agni said to him, "Savitri is the lord of all the protecting powers, pray to him;" so S'unahséphas repeated 'Abhi twā deva.' Savitri said, "You are dedicated to the royal Varuṇa, appeal to him," which S'unahséphas did in the thirty-one following stanzas, beginning 'Na hi te kshatram.' Varuṇa said "Agni is the mouth of the gods, and most friendly [to man], praise him, and we will set you free," which S'unahséphas did in twenty-two stanzas,³ beginning 'Vasishthāhi.' Agni said, "Praise the Viśwadevas, and then we will liberate you;" so S'unahséphas praised them, saying, 'Namo mahadbhyah,' &c.; but the Viśwadevas said, "Indra is the mightiest of the gods, the most excellent, and the most able to lead men to happiness; worship him, and we will loose you;" so S'unahséphas praised Indra with the hymn beginning 'Yach-chidhi satya somapā;' and Indra, being pleased by his prayer, gave him a golden chariot.⁴ He nevertheless recommended him to propitiate the Aświns; he did so, and they desired him to praise Ushas, or the personified dawn, which he did in three concluding stanzas, on repeating which his bonds fell off, and he was set free; and the king, the father of Rohita, was cured of his complaint.

Then the priests said to him, "Perform the completion of this our rite to-day;" on which he showed to them the [mode of] offering the libation of the Soma juice, accompanying it by four stanzas, beginning

¹ Or sword, "*asim nis'ánáyeyāya.*"

² Or, "as if I were not a man;" for according to the Veda, in the case of a man, after circumambulating, they let him go, and substitute a goat.

³ We have twenty-three in the text; the last is to be omitted, as not addressed to Agni.

⁴ It is said, "in his mind;" perhaps meaning that he purposed to give it to him.

'Yach-chidhi;' then having brought the pitcher (*drona kalasa*), he directed the remainder to be poured into it, with the stanza 'Uchchistham chambor,' and then with the *swáhá*, preceded by four stanzas, made the oblation, concluding with an offering to fire.¹

When the rite was completed, S'unahséphas placed himself by the side of Viśwámitra, to whom Ajigartta the son of Suyavasa said, "Give me my son;" but Viśwámitra answered, "No, the gods have given him to me." Hence he was called Devaráta² (the God-given,) the son of Viśwámitra, from whom descended the Kápileyas and Bábhhravas. Ajigartta then appealed to S'unahséphas, and said, "My son, your mother and I intreat your return;" and finding him silent, continued, "you are by birth the son of Ajigartta of the race of the Angirasas, learned and renowned; do not separate from your great grandsire's descendants, but come back to me." To which S'unahséphas answered, "All present saw you with the implement of immolation in your hand:³ such a sight was never beheld even amongst S'údras. Descendant of Angiras, you have preferred three hundred cows to me." Then said Ajigartta, "My child, the wicked act that I have committed afflicts me sorely. I repent me of it. Let the three hundred cows be thine." S'unahséphas answered, "He who has once done a wicked deed will be liable to repeat it. Thou canst never be free from the disposition of the vile [S'údras]. Thou hast done what is unpardonable."—"Unpardonable!" repeated Viśwámitra, and said, "Dreadful appeared the son of Suyavasa, armed with a weapon, intending to slay. Let not his son be his, but become a son of mine." But then said S'unahséphas to Viśwámitra, "Son of a king, explain to me how this may be, that I, of the race of Angiras, can be in the relation of a son to thee?" Viśwámitra answered, "Thou shalt be the eldest of my own, and an excellent progeny shall be thine. Thou comest to me as the gift of the gods, and therefore I welcome thee."—"But," said S'unahséphas, "who will assure me, best of the Bháratas, of the concurrence of these [thy sons] for my affiliation and seniority if I become thy son?" Thereupon Viśwámitra called his sons together and said, "Madhuchhandas, Rishabhā, Renu, Ashtaka, and all the rest of the brethren, listen to my commands, and dispute not the seniority of S'unahséphas." Now Viśwámitra had a hundred and one sons, fifty of whom were senior and fifty junior to Madhuchhandas. The seniors did not

¹ This is obscure, being little else than the text; but it relates to a particular ceremony called the "Anjas Sava," (Sava Abhishava rijju-márgena,) "the right-way oblation."

² Theodotus, Deodatus.

³ *S'ása-hastam sarve api adris'uh*. *S'ása* is explained [by *vis'asana-hetuh*, the cause or implement of immolating, or *khadga*, a sword.

approve of the adoption, and Viśwámitra cursed them and said, "Your progeny shall be degraded;" and consequently their descendants were the A'ndhras, Púndras, Sabaras, Pulindas, and Mútivas. Thus there are numerous degraded races sprung from Viśwámitra, forming the greater portion of the barbarous tribes [Dasyus]. On the other hand, Madhuchhandas and the fifty who were his juniors said, "We accede to whatever our father considers right. We all give thee, S'unabásephas, precedence, and acknowledge ourselves to be subordinate to thee." Viśwámitra, therefore, much pleased with them, said, "Your sons shall be affluent in cattle and possessed of offspring."

The latter circumstances told by the *Ait'reya Bráhmaña* of the descent of barbarous tribes from the sons of Viśwámitra, although suggestive of inquiry, are foreign to our present purpose, and need not be further noticed. The main purport of the quotation, the actual sacrifice of a human victim, is fully established, at least at the period of the compilation of the *Bráhmaña*: how far that expresses the practice of the Veda period may admit of question.

It is the received opinion of Hindu writers that the *Bráhmañas* are an integral part of the Veda. Thus Sáyana, the great scholiast on the Vedas, in the introductory discussion on these writings prefixed to his explanation of the text of the Rich, observes upon the authority of Apastamba, "Veda is the denomination of the Mantras and the *Bráhmañas*." By the Mantras are meant the hymns and prayers; and the *Bráhmañas*, say the *Mimánsakas*, are intended to elucidate and, as it were, individualize the objects which are only generally adverted to in the hymns, as where it is said in the *Súkta*, or hymn, "give abundantly," the *Bráhmaña* explains it, "give or offer clarified butter in abundance." The same authorities declare that the Veda consists of two parts, Mantra and *Bráhmaña*; and that the only unexceptionable definition which can be given of the latter is, that all that portion of the Veda which is not Mantra is *Bráhmaña*. In exact conformity to these original authorities is the following statement of Mr. Colebrooke. "Each Veda consists of two parts, denominated the Mantras and the *Bráhmañas*, or prayers and precepts. The complete collection of the hymns, prayers, and invocations belonging to one Veda is entitled its *Sanhitá*. Every other portion of Indian Scripture is included under the general head of divinity—*Bráhmaña*. This comprises precepts which inculcate religious duties, maxims which explain those precepts, and arguments which relate to theology." To these may be added narratives which illustrate precepts and practices, or explain incidents connected with the origin or objects

of the Mantras, such as that of Śunahśephas, which has been cited.

Notwithstanding the concurrence of these authorities and the generally prevalent opinion of the Hindus, it requires but a cursory inspection of such a work as the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa to deny the accuracy of the attribution. This Brāhmaṇa is not an integral part of the Rig-veda, and never could have been so. It is a work of a totally different era, and a totally different system, and if, as is likely it may be, it is to be received as a type of other similar compilations, conforming as it does accurately enough to the general description, we shall be authorized to draw the same inference with respect to all, and to separate the Brāhmaṇas from the Hindu religion as it appears in the Saṁhitās, or collections of the prayers and hymns.

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, as will have been observed in the translation of the legend of Śunahśephas, refers to the hymns or Śūktas of the Saṁhitā, specifying the number of verses in which he was fabled to have addressed the gods, agreeably to their order and place in the Saṁhitā. Again, in stating that he taught to the priests the manner of offering libations, it quotes the leading phrases of different Śūktas which are to be found in different and distant portions of the Saṁhitā. This, it may be observed, is in strict agreement with the general arrangement of the Brāhmaṇas: directions are given for the performance of various religious rites, and the hymns, or portions of the hymns which are to be repeated on such occasions, are quoted in the same manner, merely by a few initial phrases, and taken from separate and unconnected parts of the Saṁhitā, very commonly having little relation to the actual ceremony.

Now the fact, and still more, the manner of quoting the texts of the Saṁhitā, necessarily lead to the conclusion, that the Saṁhitā must have existed in its present form before the compilation of the Brāhmaṇa was undertaken, and as it must have been widely current and familiarly known, or the citation of broken and isolated texts could neither have been adopted nor verifiable, it must have assumed its actual arrangement long anterior to the compilation of the Brāhmaṇas. But the Saṁhitā itself is of a date long subsequent to its component parts. There is no doubt of the accuracy of the tradition that the hymns of the Vedas had long been current as single and unconnected compositions, preserved in families or schools by oral communication, probably for centuries; and that they were finally collected and arranged as we now have them, by a school or schools of learned Brahmins, of which Vyāsa, (possibly an abstraction, as it means merely an arranger,) was the nominal head. Allowing, therefore, a considerable period before

the *Sanhitás* were collected into form, and another interval before they could be familiarly referred to, it follows that the *Bráhmañas* cannot be an integral part of the *Veda*, understanding thereby the expression of the primitive notions of the *Hindus*, and that they are not entitled to be classed as authorities for the oldest and most genuine system of Hindu worship.

In fact, in the *Bráhmañas* we find fully developed the whole Brahmanical system, of much of which we have but faint and questionable indications in the *Mantras*. We have the whole body of both religious and social institutions—a variety of practices alluded to of a more complicated texture than the apparently simple ritual of the *Sanhitá*; and the complete recognition both in name and practice of the different castes, the Brahman, the Kshatriya, the Vaisya, and the *Súdra*: we have also the Brahmins distinguished as differing among themselves in tribe and dignity, and sometimes engaged in disputes for precedence and the exclusive performance of particular rites, all which it may be observed is incontrovertible proof that a very long interval had elapsed between the composition of the *Súktas* and the *Bráhmañas*—between the first dawn and the noon-day culmination of the Brahmanical system.

Having come to the conclusion then that the *Bráhmañas* are not an integral part of the primitive *Veda* or Hindu system, but admitting that they may be considered as an essential part of the *Veda* of the Brahmins, or as a scriptural authority for the Brahmanical forms of worship, and for their social institutions when fully developed, we have next to consider the period to which they may belong, and how far they may be regarded as authentic representations of an ancient (though not the most ancient) religious and social system in India. This, as usual with all Hindu chronology, is a difficult question: certainty is unattainable, but we may come to probable conclusions within reasonable limits from internal evidence. The *Bráhmañas* are posterior to the discontinuance of exclusively oral teaching; they could not cite miscellaneous and unconnected texts to the extent to which they cite them, unless those texts had been accessible in a written shape. They are subsequent therefore to the use of writing, to which the hymns or *Mantras* were in great part, if not wholly, anterior. They are prior in all probability to the heroic poems, the *Rámáyāṇa* and *Mahábhárata*, as we have no allusions to the demigods and heroes whom they celebrate: no allusion to Krishṇa and Ráma, although the latter name occurs as that of a Brahman, the son or a descendant of Bhrigu, which has nothing to do with Ráma, the son of king Daśaratha, any more than the name of Krishṇa, which occurs in the *Sanhitá* as the name of an *Anura*, implies any allusion to the Krishṇa of the *Mahábhárata*. There is no

reference to any controversial opposition to the doctrines, or rites of Bráhmañical Hinduism, although differences of opinion as to the purport of the performance of some ceremonies are adverted to, and so far therefore, we have no reference to Buddhism. Again, the Aitareya Bráhmaña is prior to the Sūtras, or rules for conducting religious rites, ascribed to Aśwalayana, Baudhāyana, and others who are undoubtedly authors of a remote period. It is, perhaps, not far from the period of the oldest passages in the laws of Manu, in some of which we find allusions to the narratives of the Bráhmaña, as in the case of Śunahśephas, and also of a prince named Paijavana, who is not named in later works. In the etymology also of the term *jáyá*, a wife, as one in whom a man is born again in the person of a son, we have the very same words.¹ The Bráhmaña may be the earlier of the two, but not by any very great interval. Finally, the style although more modern than that of the Veda, is ancient and obscure, and contains many words and phrases of Vaidik antiquity. Upon the whole, as a mere matter of conjecture, subject to reconsideration, I should be disposed to place the Aitareya Bráhmaña about six or seven centuries before the Christian era.

So far, therefore, it may be received as authority to a qualified extent for the primitive practices of the Hindus, and for including amongst them the sacrifice, on particular occasions, of human victims. Not that the practice ever prevailed to the extent to which it spread through most of the ancient nations, or partook in general of the same character. These, it has been asserted, were entirely of an expiatory nature, performed under an impression of fear, and intended to deprecate the anger of the Gods. Such were the sacrifices of the Druids, the Scythians, and the Phœnicians; and such were the Thargelia of the Athenians, when a man and woman were annually put to death in order to expiate the sins of the public, and redeem them from any national calamity. They were not, however, restricted to this source, but were not unfrequently vindictive, as when prisoners taken in war were sacrificed, like the three hundred citizens of Perugia whom Augustus offered in one day to his deified uncle (Divo Julio); or as the Grecian navigators whom the barbarians of Tauris sacrificed to Artemis whenever cast upon their shores. They had their origin also in notions of divination, as was the case in the worship of Mithra, when auguries were taken from the entrails of human victims; and they seem in some instances to have been suggested by a purely sanguinary spirit, as was the case with the perpetually recurring sacrifices to Baal and Moloch in the Phœnician Colonies, and especially in Carthage.² No intimation of any such

¹ Manu, b. ix. v. 8.

² See Bryant's Chapter on Anthropothusia and Teknothusia, vol. vi. p. 294.

purposes are traceable in the indistinct allusions to human sacrifices in the Veda. Their object seems to have been the propitiation of some divinity, by devoting to him that which was most precious to the sacrificer. This feeling seems also to have been very widely diffused throughout the East in the most ancient times, as was the practice of the individual of pledging himself to the act by a solemn promise or vow. We might infer that the practice was not unknown to the patriarchal era, from the conduct of Abraham when commanded to offer up his son; for although he would not under any circumstances have hesitated to obey the divine command, yet he might, consistently with his obedience, have expressed some surprise at the injunction, had the purport of it been wholly unfamiliar. At a later date in the Jewish history we have a similar sort of sacrifice under a solemn previous engagement in the vow of Jephtha; and it is worthy of remark that one of the causes assigned by the Greek writers to the detention of the fleet at Aulis, and consequent sacrifice of Iphigenia, was Agamemnon's violation of the vow which he had made to offer to Diana the most lovely thing which the year in which his daughter was born should produce: Iphigenia was that thing, and the sacrifice was insisted on in satisfaction of the vow. The offering of children to Moloch, subsequently borrowed by the Jews from their idolatrous neighbours, originated probably in a similar feeling, which it is evident exercised a very extensive influence over the nations of Western Asia in remote antiquity, and, as appears from the story of S'unahséphas, was not confined to that quartér, but had reached the opposite limits of Asia at a period at least prior by ten or twelve centuries to the Christian era.

Further, we find a like community of ideas in the institution of vicarious sacrifices. In the story of S'unahséphas, one human victim is substituted for another, whilst in the parallel cases of antiquity the substitutes were animals. It is not unlikely that this was also a primitive notion of the Hindus, and at any rate it had become so by the time of the Bráhmañas; for S'unahséphas is made to say, "They will put me to death as if I were not a man"—that is, according to Sáyana's commentary, founded upon a text of the Veda which he cites, but which is not easily verified, when the assistants had circumambulated the person bound to the stake, they set him free without any detriment, and substituted an animal (a goat) in his place. Hence Mr. Colebrooke concluded that the Purusha-medha, or sacrifice of a man, was never anything but typical; and the ceremony as enjoined in the S'atapatha Bráhmaña of the Yajush, on which his opinion was founded, is evidently of that character. In this, one hundred and eighty-five men of various specified tribes, characters, and professions, are bound

to eleven yúpas, or posts, and after recitation of a hymn celebrating the allegorical immolation of Náráyana, they are liberated unhurt, and oblations of butter are offered on the sacrificial fire. Hence Mr. Colbrooke concludes that human sacrifices were not authorized by the Veda itself, but were either then abrogated and an emblematical ceremony substituted in their place, or they were introduced in later times by the authors of such works as the Kálika Puráña, for instance, in which minute directions are given for the offering of a human victim to Káli, whom it is said his blood satisfies for a thousand years.

That human offerings to the dark forms of S'iva and Durgá were sometimes perpetrated in later times, we know from various original sources, particularly from that very effective scene in the drama of Mádhava and Málattí, in which Aghoraghanta is represented as about to sacrifice Málattí to Chámundá, when she is rescued by her lover. No such divinities, however, neither S'iva nor Durgá, much less any of their terrific forms, are even named, so far as we know, in the Vedas, and therefore these works could not be authority for their sanguinary worship. That the practice is enjoined on particular occasions by the Tantras and some of the Puráñas connected with this branch of the Hindu faith, is, no doubt, true; but these are works of a much later date, within the limits mostly of the Mohammedan government within the period of which the works were compiled, and under which their injunctions could not safely have been carried into operation; and they never amounted perhaps to more than the expression of the feeling inspired by the character of the divinities worshipped, although they may have been occasionally attempted to be realized by some fierce and fanatical enthusiasts. These practices, therefore, are of a very different character from those which there is reason to believe might have actually taken place, though rarely and under special circumstances, under the authority of the Veda, and which originated in a common feeling and faith diffused throughout the most civilized nations of the world—the nations of the East—in the remotest periods of antiquity.

ART. VI.—*Opening of the Topes or Buddhist Monuments of Central India.* By MAJOR A. CUNNINGHAM, Bengal Engineers.

[Read July 5th, 1851.]

AMONGST the many interesting monuments of India, the most remarkable, as well as the most ancient, are the cave-temples and topes of the Buddhists. The former have been made known by the pictorial illustrations of Fergusson; but the curious paintings which adorn the interior must be copied, and the numerous inscriptions must be deciphered, before the world will appreciate the full value of these works as illustrations of the religious belief and every-day life of the Indians of Alexander's time. Of the topes, none have yet been described, excepting the largest of the Sanchi group, near Bhilsa. An accurate plan and section of this building, with a short account of the various subjects represented in the sculptured bas-reliefs of the gateways, was published by my brother, Captain J. D. Cunningham, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. On his solicitation and earnest representation of the great value of these bas-reliefs, the Court of Directors were induced to employ Lieutenant Maisey to make drawings of the building and of its sculptured gateways. In January last I joined Lieutenant Maisey at Sanchi, and I am therefore able to speak positively of the value of his drawings, which cannot be surpassed for strict fidelity of outline and minute accuracy of detail. The groups of topes around Bhilsa will now be illustrated in a manner worthy of their value and importance.

The large tope at Sanchi had been breached on the southern side by Sir Herbert Maddock about thirty years ago, but the centre of the building had not been reached. The second sized tope had also been breached; but, although the centre of the building must have been laid open, no relics were obtained, and these clumsy excavations were fortunately abandoned. Lieutenant Maisey and myself determined to proceed in a different manner, by sinking perpendicular shafts down the middle of each tope, so as not to injure the external appearance of the building. In this way we opened nearly thirty topes, of which about ten yielded relics of different kinds, although most of them had certainly been opened before by the villagers.

There are five distinct groups of topes near Bhilsa, all situated on low sandstone hills, more or less inaccessible. ❀

- 1st.—*Sánchez*, $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the S.W. of Bhilsa;
- 2nd.—*Sonári*, 6 miles to the S.W. of Sánchez;
- 3rd.—*Satdhára*, $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the W. of Sánchez;
- 4th.—*Bhojpur*, 7 miles to the E.S.E. from Sánchez, and 6 miles S.S.E. from Bhilsa;
- 5th.—*Andher*, 4 miles to the E.S.E. from Bhojpur, and 9 miles S.E. from Bhilsa: the extreme distance from west to east, from Satdhára to Andher, being 17 miles.

A *tope* is a solid hemispherical building, varying in size from the great Sánchez *chaitya*, which is 106 feet in diameter, to the smallest at Bhojpur, which is only 6 feet in diameter. The most ancient topes were simple hemispheres, such as the great Sánchez *chaitya*, which most probably dates as high as the middle of the sixth century B.C. The next in point of antiquity are most of the Bhilsa topes, which date from the end of the third century B.C. In these the hemisphere is raised a few feet above the plinth by the addition of a cylindrical portion. The third class of topes is found in Afghanistan, and dates about the commencement of the Christian era. In these the hemisphere is raised considerably above the plinth. The last class, of which the Sárnáth tope, near Benares, is a magnificent specimen, has the hemisphere raised to an height equal to its own diameter.

A *tope* is a religious edifice dedicated emphatically to Buddha, that is, either to the celestial Ádi-Buddha, the great first cause of all things, or to one of his emanations, the *Mánushi*, or mortal Buddhas, of whom the most celebrated is *Sákya Muni*, who died in B.C. 543. Topes were also dedicated to the most illustrious of Sákya's disciples, and to those other Buddha priests, who, through superior sanctity, were believed to have attained complete absorption into the divine self-existent spirit from which they originally sprang.

In the topes dedicated to the celestial Buddha, the invisible Being who pervaded all space, no deposit was made, but the divine spirit, who is *Light*, was supposed to occupy the interior, and was typified on the outside by a pair of eyes placed on each of the four sides, either of the base or crown of the building. Such is the Great *Chaitya*, near Kathmandu, in Nípál, dedicated to *Sambhu* or *Svayambhúndh*, in which the eyes are placed on the sides of the crown of the building. Such also are the numerous *chhodtens* (*m-Chhod r-Ten*) in Tibet, which are dedicated to the celestial Buddha, in contradistinction to the *Dung-tens* [*g-Dung r-Ten*], which are built in honour of the mortal Buddhas. The first means simply "an offering" to the Deity, the latter, as its name implies, is a "bone [*g-Dung*] receptacle," that is, a building containing the bones or relics of one of

The relics next in importance are those of the *missionaries* who were despatched to various countries for the propagation of the Buddhist religion immediately after the close of the Third Convocation in B.C. 247. Of these great men we have the relics of two who are mentioned in the *Mahāwanso* (pp. 71, 74), as having been deputed to the *Himavanta* country, or *Hindlayan* region. These are *Majjhima* and *Kāsapa*. The relics of the first were found only at Sānchi, with a simple inscription ; “ [relic] of the emancipated MAJJHIMA.” Those of KĀSAPA were found both at Sānchi and at Sonāri, each inscription distinctly mentioning the mission to the Himavanta country. The Sānchi inscription is

SAPURISASA KÁSAPA GOTASA SAYA-HEMAYATÁCHARIYASA.

Another eminent missionary of the same period was GOTT-PUTRA. He is not mentioned in the Maháwanso; but the inscription on a small piece of steatite, from Sonári, enclosed in a crystal box with his relics, leaves no doubt upon the subject. It is as follows: -

SAPURISASA GOTI-PUTASA HEMAVATASA DADABHISARA DĀYĀDASA.

The meaning of *dāyāda* (literally, son, offspring, relative) is best illustrated by the following anecdote from the Mahāvanso, p. 36. When Asoka had dedicated his son Mahindo and his daughter Sanghamittā to the priesthood, he enquired from the great priest, Mogaliputra, "whose act of pious bounty to the Buddhist religion had been the greatest?" The crafty priest, "foreseeing that it would tend to the advancement of the faith," replied: "Ruler of men! a greater donor and benefactor to the faith even than thou art, can be called

The inscriptions, which are found upon the rails, pillars, and coping-stones of the colonnaded enclosures at Sanchi, amount to about two hundred and forty. Some of them are of course of but little value; but the whole, taken together, are of considerable importance, as they record the names of cities and of races, and exhibit the language and alphabet of India at the time of Alexander and his successors. Every letter of the alphabet which James Prinsep found in the longer inscriptions, I have found in these short ones. Lastly, they prove most unmistakeably the predominance of the Buddhist religion by the use of names and terms peculiar to that belief; and they establish the early existence of the Buddhist triad of *Buddha*, *Dharma*, and *Sangha* by the frequent occurrence of such names as

Budha Pálita	Dhama Pálita	Sangha Pálita
Budha Rakhita	Dhama Rakhita	Sangha Rakhita

A few of these inscriptions are partly obliterated; but I have copied and translated the whole, as I consider that every word of the language will lessen the difficulties of translating the longer inscriptions. A few specimens may be interesting:—

No. 90 of my list. *Upedadatasadánam.*

“Gift of Upendradatta.”

No. 62. *Ujēniya Upedadatasa pajavātaya Māyādataya dānam.*

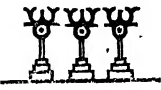





“Gift of MĀYĀDATTĀ, the mother of UPENDRADATTA, of Ujain.”

No. 63. *Ujēniya Upedadatasa Bhaginiya Himādataya dānam.*

“Gift of Himādattā, the sister of Upendradatta, of Ujain.”

I cannot now attempt any description of the numerous bas-reliefs further than to state generally that they exhibit the adoration of tope, of bo-trees, and of wheels, processions escorting relic boxes, apparently after a successful campaign for their acquisition; ascetic life in the woods, where both the *Srāmanas* and *Srāmanās* (Σεμνοὶ and Σεμναί) are represented in various acts of meditative abstraction, &c. These are the *Gymnosophists* of the Greeks; for I believe that the term *Buddha* (the “wise”) was *literally translated* by the Greeks, and that *Sophists*, *Philosophers*, and *Gymnosophists*, all equally mean “Buddhist Priests.”

The most remarkable object of adoration is a peculiar emblem which is found upon most of the old Hindoo coins, and upon all the

coins of the Indo-Scythian Kadphises. This emblem is It surmounted each pillar of the Sanchi gateways; it forms the top of every standard and banner in the processions; it is carved upon the sword-scabards; and, lastly, it is an object of worship *singly* and also as a *triad*, where three of these emblems are represented on an altar, side by side, thus  After much consideration I have come to the conclusion that this holy emblem is nothing more than the *monogram*, formed of the radical letters (*vija mantra*) of the names of the four elements, which form "MATTER," joined to that of *manasa* or "MIND:" thus  *ya*, air;  *ra*, fire;  *va*, water;  *la*, earth. These are the names of the four *material* and visible elements; and these four letters when combined together form the above monogram; in which also is  *ma*, the radical or initial letter of *MANASA*, or mind. The fifth invisible element of "infinite space" could not of course be represented.

The three monograms arranged together, I take to represent the Buddhist Triad, or *Buddha*, *Dharma*, and *Sangha*. *Buddha*, or Supreme Intelligence, represents the *Mind* and the five senses; *Dharma*, or Matter, represents the *Body* and the five objects of sense; and *Sangha*, or *Union*, represents the junction of *mind* and *matter*, or of soul and body in the human being. Singly, therefore, the monogram represents the Triad of Buddha and Dharma united in Sangha, while the triple monogram represents each member of the Triad separately.

This explanation is fully borne out by the proof which I have before given of the early existence of the Buddhist Triad, as evidenced in the frequent occurrence of the names of Buddha Dharma, and Sangha in the inscriptions. Its simplicity is also in its favour.

But the most curious fact connected with this triple monogram, is the certainty that the three famous figures now worshipped at Jagannáth are *identically* the same, as a single glance at any sketch of those figures will show. There is a *wheel* also on the summit of the Jagannáth temple.

Both Lieutenant Maisey and myself agree in identifying Sanchi with the Chetiagiri of the Maháwanso.

A. CUNNINGHAM,

Gwalior, 26 March, 1851.

Major, Bengal Engineers.

ART. VII.—*Documents illustrative of the Occurrences in Bengal, in the time of the Nawábs Mir Jaffier and Kásim Ali Khán. Communicated by PROFESSOR WILSON, Director.*

[Read February 1st, 1851.]

A SHORT time ago, I purchased for the Library of the East India Company, a few MSS. which had apparently been written or collected by a gentleman named R. E. Roberts, who in 1784-5 held the office of Persian Interpreter either to the Governor of Bengal or the Commander of the Forces. I have not been able to learn anything further of him, except that, as might be inferred, he was an officer in the Bengal Army, and was personally known, late in life, to some of our members. There is an Indian Glossary or *Vade-Mecum*, compiled by a Lieutenant Roberts, of the 3rd Regiment N. I.; but it was printed in 1800, and his designation is T. T. Roberts; he must be, therefore, a different person. The papers of R. E. Roberts indicate extensive acquirements, and comprise a very good Persian grammar and a translation of a Hindustani grammar, compiled in Latin by a missionary named Schultz, and printed at Halle by Professor Culenburg in 1745.

There are also various Persian documents, very carefully written, some of which serve to elucidate historical events of an early date, especially those arising out of the political relations that were first established with Mir Jaffier and his successor, Kásim Ali Khán; and although they do not add materially to our knowledge of the transactions of that period, they possess some interest as being original and authentic: they are also, to some extent, new; and I have thought, therefore, that extracts from them might be acceptable to the Society.

The earliest of these documents are of the time of *Mir Jaffier*, and relate to the incursion of *Sháh Alam*; the later are various letters from *Kásim Ali Khán* to Mr. Vansittart and the Council of Calcutta. Some of these are translated in Vansittart's *Memoirs*, but not all; and as those which are now met with confirm the authenticity of those which are there given, I have thought that some of them might be again translated and published. Not having leisure myself to attempt the translation of these papers, Mr. Shakespear has been kind enough, at my request, to accomplish the task for the information of the Society.

The first documents that I have to notice relate to a transaction

which excited, when it became known in England, a lively sensation, and was made the subject of parliamentary investigation. It concerned the share taken by Colonel Caillaud in an atrocious project, devised by the Nawáb or by his son, for the assassination of the Sháh Záda; to an agreement to which effect Colonel Caillaud acknowledged he allowed his seal to be affixed. The inquiry that took place, with his vindication of his conduct, is one of the subjects of the first report of the Committee of the House of Commons printed in 1772; but as that report gives only Colonel Caillaud's statements, and does not present any documentary evidence, the following copy of the agreement, with the particulars, as furnished by a celebrated individual of that time (Rájá Shitáb Rái) to Mr. Hastings, may be thought worthy of preserving.

نقل فرد بمهر نواب شجاع الملك بهادر و بمهر نواب ناصر الملك
بهادر و مبارز الدوله سيف جنك بهادر انكه
تهور دستكاه كهاندي راي بعافيت باشند

حقيقت حسن ارادت و رسوخ اعتقا كه نظر بقديم
الخدمتي خود دارند از خطي كه براجہ چهن سنكه نوشته
بودند مفصل معلوم شد اينجانبهارا نيز مراعاتها
منظور است انشاء الله تعلي بعل خواهد امد با الفعل هر قدر
كه بظهور حسن مجرا ساعي خواهند شد انسب و اولاست
و بايمان و طريقه خود قسم كه اكر شاهزاده را بر طبق
نوشته خود دستكبركرده حضور بيارند يا قتيل سازند يك لك
روپيه انعام بلا توقف بان تهور دستكاه خواهد رسيد و
انچه لازمه غور و پرداخت است بعل خواهد امد خاطر
چعدادند

بتارخ شهر شعبان سنه احد قلبي شد
مكرر انكه بعد سرانجام اين كار زمينداري كامكار خان
بان تهور دستكاه مقرر نموده خواهد شد

“Copy of an Agreement, under the seals of the Nawáb Shujá ul Mulk (Mír Jaffier), of the Nawáb Násir ul Mulk (Míran, his eldest son), and of Mubáriz ud daulah Saif Jang (Colonel Caillaud).

“To Khándí Rái, greeting.

“We have received the assurances of fidelity and attachment, which might be expected from your long services, in your letter to Rajah Chihkan Sing. Your expectations from us are also noticed, and, by the blessings of God, will be accomplished. In a word, your merits will be estimated by your exertions and services, and we swear by our faith that if, according to what you have written, you make the Sháh-záda prisoner, and bring him to us, or kill him, you will receive one lakh of rupees in full, besides having that consideration paid to you which will be due. Be of good cheer.

“Written in the month of Shábán, in the first year [of the reign of Sháh Alam].

“P.S.—After the execution of this business, you have the Zamín-dárá of Kámgar Khan granted to you in perpetuity.”

خط مهاراجه شتاب راي به جلادت جنك مستر هشتين

صاحب بسيار مهربان كرم فرماي مخلصان سلامت

بعد تمناي ادراك سامي مواصلت موفور المسرت كه مزيدي
بران متصور نباشد مكشوف راي مهرباني افزاي كردانيده مي
شود مهرباني نامه سامي متضمن بر اينكه از طرف نواب
شمس الدوله بهادر و كوسليان كلكته باينجانب حكم رسيده
كه نواب مير محمد جعفر خان بهادر و صادق عليخان
مرحوم و كرنيل كليو خطوطي كه بتاير دستكبر كردن بادشاه
زاده نوشته بودند بدست صاحب افتاده لهذا باينجانب
حكم شده كه درين مقدمه بانصاحب نوشته استدراك نمايد اكر
خطوط مذكور پيش صاحب بوده باشد البته مخلص نويسند

وصول الطاف شمول نموده نشاط افزاي خاطر دوستدار کردید چون قبل وصول مهرباني نامه مستر ولیم ایلس هم در پیمقدمه بمخلص نوشته بودند در جواب مستر موسوف نوشتم و بصاحب مفصل اطلاع میدهم احوال نوشتخواند حضور این است که در عظیم آباد نشده بود و درین نوشت خواند دوستدار در میان هم نبود هر گاه بادشاه ظل الله حضرت شاه عالم بهادر بطرف مرشد آباد و چکله بردوان تشریف برده بودند در انجا راجه چهکن سنکه هرکاره سرکار نواب مبر محمد جعفر خان بهادر مهابت جنک با لاله کهاندي رای که در ان ایام مختار نواب عقیدت الدوله بهادر یعنی محمد کامکار خان می و مختار سوال جواب حضور پرنور حضرت بادشاه بودند قول و قرار نموده بودند که در صورت کشتن یا بقابوی اینجانب در آورده دادن حضرت شاه عالم بهادر یک لک رویه نقد و زمینداری ملک محمد کامکار خان بشما داده خواهد شد چنانچه نوشت خواند اینمقدمه بهر نواب میر محمد جعفر خان بهادر و نواب صادق علیخان مرحوم و نواب مبارز الملك سیف جنک بهادر یعنی کرنیل کلیو شده هرگاه حضرت شاه عالم بهادر از مرشد آباد معاودت بعظیم آباد نمودند چون اکثری آشنایان دوستدار هم در انجا بودند خبر نوشت و خواند مذکور بدوستدار رسانیدند از انجا که مخلص را خیر اندیشی و نیکنامی کمپنی انگریز از قدیم منظور است اینمعنی را بمسترامیت صاحب که در انوقت صاحب کلان کوتاهی عظیم آباد بودند ظاهر نمود مستر صاحب

موصوف بدوستدار گفتند که این فرد را بهر صورت از اینجا باید طلبید چون او همراه حضرت شاه عالم بهادر بود در اینجا چیزی زور نمیرسید اما از اینجا که دوستدار را خیر اندیشی و نیکنامی کمپنی انگریز از قدیم منظور بود بحکمت عالی و قول و قرار اینکه شما فرد را بمن بدهید زر شما وصول کرده خواهیم داد یا فرد واپس خواهیم داد و فرد مذکور را طلبیده بمستر صاحب موصوف ملاحظه کنانیدم مستر صاحب بدوستدار گفتند که فرد را در قابوی خود باید داشت چون چند روز داشتیم بعد آن فرد شخصی که بود او خود طلب زر نمود با و واپس دادم نقلش که در کاغذ احقر بود ملغوف رفته الوفات فرستادم هرگاه کهناندي رای بقضاي الهي فوت شد اما فرد اصل هر سه مهری پیش شخصی که هست او خود در اتاوه است و از من آشنائی دارد اینکه فرد از خواسته باشم مفت نمیتواند داد زر خواهد ساخت در اینصورت اگر واپس گرفتن فرد منظور باشد انچنان بدوستدار باید نوشت که بتدبیر آن پردازم و اگر دریافت احوال متصور بود چون هر قدر که معلوم مخلص بود مفصل گزارش نمود زیاده ایام بهجت و شادمانی مدام باد

“Letter from Mahārāja Shitāb Rāi to Jalādat Jang, Mr. Hastings, the kind benefactor of his friends—Salām.

“After the assurance of my earnest desire for a happy meeting, a greater gratification than which cannot be imagined, the acknowledgment of your most kind communication is made, the purport of which friendly dispatch is to this effect, that, on the part of the Nawāb Shams-ad-daulah [Vausittart] and the members of the Council of Calcutta, you instruct me that a certain paper which the Nawāb

Mír Mohammed Jaffier Khán Bahádur, the late Sádik Alí Khán, and Colonel Caillaud had written, respecting the seizure of the Bádsháh-Záda, had fallen into the hands of the Sáhíb, on which account you command me to write to him, to make inquiry, and, if in his possession, to send it to your servant. The arrival of this dispatch has afforded exceeding satisfaction to your friend.

“Before the receipt of your obliging letter, however, Mr. William Ellis had written to me on the same subject, and I had written to him in reply, giving him all the particulars, which were the following; although, as I was not at Azímábád (Patna) at the time, I had no concern in the correspondence.

“At the time that the Emperor His Majesty Sháh Alam Bahádur, proceeded towards Murshidábád, and had arrived in the Chakla of Burdwan, Raja Chihkan Sing, the Harkára of the government of Mír Mohammed Jaffier Khán Bahádur, Mohábat Jang, intrigued with Lála Khándi Rái, who at that time was the Mukhtár of Nawáb Akídat Allah, that is to say, of Mohammed Kámgar Khán, and was also the private secretary of His illustrious Majesty, and promised and agreed that if he would effect the death or the seizure and delivery of Sháh Alam to the parties, he should receive a present of a lakh of rupees and the Zamíndárá of Kámgar Khán, conformably to which a written engagement was authenticated by the seals of Mír Mohammed Jaffier Khán Bahádur, the late Nawáb Sádik Alí Khán, and the Nawáb Mubáriz ul Mulk Saif Jang Bahádur, that is, Colonel Caillaud. When His Majesty returned from Murshidábád to Azímábád, as there were then many of my friends and acquaintances at that place, intelligence of this correspondence was communicated to me; and as it has always been my desire to secure the favourable opinion of the English Company, I made the affair known to Mr. Amyatt, who was at that time chief of the factory at Patna. The aforesaid gentleman said to me, ‘It is necessary by all means to get that paper from the party.’ As he was in attendance upon His Majesty, there was no opportunity of compelling him to give it up; but in my earnest desire to obtain the good will of the Company, I set to work with all the ingenuity I could exert, and promised that if he would give up the paper, he should receive a pecuniary consideration, or the document should be returned. Accordingly, the document was intrusted to me, and I showed it to Mr. Amyatt, who said, ‘You must keep the document in your possession.’ I did so for some days, when the person to whom it belonged becoming importunate for money, I restored him the paper. A copy of it I send inclosed in this letter. Although Khándi Rái is, by the divine decree, deceased, yet the

original document with the three seals is in the possession of a person residing in Etáwa, and who is a friend of mine. I might ask him for it, but he would not part with it without an equivalent, as he wants to make money by it. If, therefore, it be any object to have the paper again, you will be so good as to write to your friend, that I may manage the business; but if a knowledge of the circumstances were all that was contemplated, I have stated them in full so far as they were known to me. What more is necessary? May your days of happiness and rejoicing be perpetual."

That such a project should have been entertained is not inconsistent with the character either of Mír Jaffier or of his son Miran, especially of the latter, who, according to the author of the *Sair Mutakherin*, was capable of any atrocity. There might have been some plausible pretext for the attempt to secure the person of Sháh Alam at an earlier period, or that of his first incursion, in the beginning of 1759; for at that date, his father, Alamgír II, acting under the dictation of his Vizír, Ghází-ud-dín, had commanded Mír Jaffier to march to Patna, and secure the person of the Prince; for, according to the imperial firmán, "some ill-designing people had turned his brain, and carried him to the eastern part of the empire, which would be the cause of much trouble and ruin to the country." Ghází-ud-dín and his brother, Ahmed Khán, wrote to Colonel Clive to the same effect; for they were alarmed at the Prince's escape from their grasp, and apprehended his raising a party which might be strong enough to overturn their power. There never was any disposition in Clive, however, to act severely against the Prince, and although he declined to make common cause with him, and imperatively insisted on his withdrawing from Bahar, he commiserated his misfortunes, wrote to him kindly and civilly, and even sent him a present of five hundred gold mohurs to relieve his distresses, and enable him to get out of the country. He, therefore, could have been no party to a proposition to secure the Prince alive or dead.

There can be no doubt, indeed, that the temptation held out to Khándi Rái to betray his master was made at a subsequent period. After the Prince's retreat across the Karamnasa, he was not for some time in a condition to resume his attempts upon Bahar, as he had lost the aid of his principal supporter in his first attempt, Mohammed Kuli Khán, the independent Governor of Allahábád, who was the chief instigator of the enterprise, and had joined him with all his forces; thus affording an opportunity to his treacherous kinsman, Shuja-ad-daula, the

Nawáb of Oude, who had encouraged him to assist the Prince, to seize upon the fortress of Allahábád, and deprive Mohammed Kuli Kháir of his possessions. After the expiration of about a twelvemonth, the Prince resumed his attempt, chiefly upon invitation of Kámgar Khán, Zamíndár of Tikari, and of other Zamíndárs, and again advanced to Patna, where he at first met with some success, defeating Rámna-
ráyan, and destroying a small party of English sipáhis, with their commander, Captain Cochrane. Before he could take advantage of his victory, the army of the Nawáb, under the command of Míran and Major Caillaud, arrived, and another action took place, in which the Prince was defeated. He was now, however, Emperor, his father having been murdered, and he had assumed the title, by which he was subsequently known, of Sháh Alam. His General was not discouraged by the results of the engagement, but adopted the spirited resolution of avoiding the Nawáb's army, and, by a rapid circuitous march, falling upon Murshidábád. The army of Sháh Alam had reached the district of Burdwan in this march, when Caillaud, by great exertions, threw himself between the Emperor and the capital of Bengal. Sháh Alam thought it prudent to decline a battle, and fell back rapidly on Patna, which he once more assailed, and was very nigh taking it, when it was saved by the opportune arrival of Captain Knox and his party, detached by Caillaud. It was after his repulse from Burdwan and during his march against Patna, that the inducement to betray him was offered to Kháudí Rái; for Mír Jaffier and his son had both been excessively alarmed by his approach, and were still in dread of the result of his movements, and although they seem to affect avoiding to give him his title of emperor, yet, with rather unaccountable inconsistency, the agreement is dated in the year one, which could apply only to the first of his reign, in the month Shâbân, sufficiently corresponding with that of April, 1760, when we know, from Caillaud's own statement, the agreement was executed as to the means of getting rid of the object of their fears. It was not long after this that Míran was killed, upon the expedition with Caillaud against Kadim Hosain Khán, the Zamíndár of Purnia, who had brought a considerable force into the field in aid of Sháh Alam, the timely junction of which would have probably insured the taking of Patna. With the usual dilatoriness and want of concert which has so repeatedly proved fatal to the princes of Hindustan, he did not reach Hajipur till Patna was safe, and he was defeated by Knox, who had effected its security. He was then pursued and driven from his country by Caillaud. Sháh Alam soon after made his peace with the English, and Mír Jaffier ceased to be the Nawáb of Bengal.

That Major Caillaud was the officer associated with Míran in the movements against Sháh Alam is a historical fact beyond question, and yet the author of the *Sair Mutakherin*, Gholám Hosain, well informed as he was of the transactions of the period in which he bore a part himself, invariably speaks of Clive as commanding, not only in the first but in the second campaign against Sháh Alam. In the first passage the expression is doubtful: "News coming to the Emperor that the Bengal army was on its march, with the Colonel and the English at its head, they raised their camp, and marched forward to meet the enemy" (p. 104). Who "the Colonel" was appears afterwards more positively:—"A few days after this victory, intelligence came that Míran, with the forces of Bengal, commanded by Colonel Clive, now styled Saif Jang, was hastening to Azímabad" (p. 124). Clive is therefore the Colonel first intended; and yet this we know to be wrong; and Clive's native title never was Saif jang, but Sáhíb-jang; whilst, as appears from the correspondence, the former was the title of Caillaud. There is one explanation of this blunder which probably accounts for its origin, although, from further evidence, we can scarcely acquit Gholám Hosain of error, otherwise we might look upon it as a mistake, not of his, but of his translator; for however unlike the two words Clive and Caillaud may be in English letters, there is no doubt they are expressed by the very same characters in Persian (كليو), which may be read according to the vowel-marks (which are not inserted), Kalio, or Klio, or Kliv. It is highly probable that Gholám Hosain was deceived by the mode of writing the name, for that all along he understood it to be Kliv is rendered indisputable by the following:—"Whether this death [of Míran] made any alteration in Colonel Clive's notions we cannot affirm; but this much is certain, that this renowned commander, who so long as he remained in India had been always acknowledged as supreme commander of the army, as well as chief of the settlement of Calcutta, now took suddenly the resolution of returning home." Now certainly Caillaud never was chief of the settlement of Calcutta, nor did he return immediately to Europe after the campaign; in fact, there is a gross blunder in the whole statement; for Míran's death did not take place until July, 1760, and Clive had returned to England in the preceding February. Gholám Hosain's character for accuracy is in general so high that these mistakes are very unaccountable, and are only to be comprehended by supposing that he was misled by the imperfections of the Persian alphabet.

Colonel Caillaud never made any mystery of his concurrence with this proposition, and states that he immediately apprised the Governor

(Mr. Holwell) of his having done so. He looked upon it, he says, as an idle scheme, the execution of which was utterly impracticable, and he considered the letter from Khándí Rái, on which it was founded, to be a fabrication. He acquiesced, however, in order "to amuse and keep up the foolish hopes of the Nawáb and his son, who required no less a proof (as we then stood affected towards each other) to satisfy them, and remove those fears and jealousies from which we had everything to apprehend." He accordingly allowed his seal to be set to the engagement. The reasons assigned by the Colonel were considered by the Council of Fort William as acquitting him of any evil intention, and the Court of Directors, who had ordered the inquiry, having in the mean time suspended him from his command, confirmed the decision; it sufficiently appearing, to use their own words, that "his motives proceeded from the particular circumstances of affairs at the time, his zeal for the Company's service, the suddenness of the occasion, and a thorough conviction that it was an artifice of the Nabob to try the sincerity of the Company's attachment to him, and that no ill consequences would follow therefrom to the Sháh-záda."—First Report from the Committee appointed to inquire into the nature, state, and condition of the East India Company, 26 May, 1772. Appendix, No. 10.

The letters of Kásim Alí Khán are of less novelty than those with which we have been engaged, and most of them are already translated and published in Vansittart's Memoirs. The following are not amongst the number, and are of some interest, as showing that it was at one time in the contemplation of the Bengal Government to have attempted the recovery of Cuttack from the Marhattas. This public object was lost sight of in the quarrels which presently ensued amongst the members of the Government respecting their private interests, and in their disputes with the unhappy Nawáb, on account of their unjustifiable pretensions to commercial privileges and profits.

خط نواب میر محمد قاسم خان بنواب شمس الدولہ

مسترونسترت

نوابصاحب مشفق مہربان والا قدر عالی شان کرم فرمای

برادران و مخلصان سلامت

بعد اظہار اشتیاق و تمناي مواصلت و افي المسرت کہ خلاصہء

مطالبہا ست مشہود ضمیر منیر عطوفت تخمیر میگرداند

مهربانی نامهء خیریت شمامه مرقومهء بست و ششم شهر
 رجب وصول انتعاش شمول نموده خاطر منتظر را بنویید اعتدال
 مزاج عاطفت امتزاج مسرور و مطمئن ساخت مرقوم خامه
 تفقد نکار شده که از احاطه نمودن کتک انتفاع احقر مد نظر
 ساء نیست نه رفاه کمپنی پیشتر به قلم در آمده بود که خرج
 فوج کمپنی از سرکار احقر عاید خواهد شد و الحال از مضمون
 رقبه الاخلاص چنان بدربافت سامی درآمده که درین
 کار چندان دلنهادی احقر نیست بنابر خرج فصول بسرکار
 کمپنی مناسب ندانسته موقوف فرمودند هرگاه احقر
 درین کار از دل متاعی خواهد شد و اگر فوج انگریزی
 مطلوب مخلص خواهد بود بعل خواهند آورد و مدتیست
 که صوبهء کتک از علاقه نظامت خارج شده بتصرف مرهه
 سپرد کشته الحال احاطه نمودنش از سر نو مداخلت ساختن
 است هرچه اخراجات کمپنی درینکار خواهد شد احقر
 عاید سازد و آنچه پیشتر از قرار مدار از علاقه نظامت
 بدرقته خارج از قرار داد تصور نمایند و قرار داد فهایب آن
 است که در متعلقات سرکار هر جا زمینداران و دیگر اشوار
 شورش خواهند آورد برای تنبیهش فوج کمپنی بمدد و اعانت
 خواهد پرداخت مهربانان از ابتداء تا حال احقر بکدام وقت
 بر زبان آورده و بقلم داده که انصاحب کارها برای انتفاع
 احقر نکرده برای نفع کمپنی کرده اند که آن مشفق اینقسم
 ارقام میفرمایند عالم الغیب اکاه است که از اوایل در دل
 احقر از الطاف سامی همین متصور است که هر کار و هر امور

ان صاحب بجل آورده اند محض براي انتفاع احقر است و عدم دلنهادي احقر درينكار كه مرقوم است حقيقتش اينكه احوال پست فطري فوج هندي بخدمت نيك و روشن كه از عهد شاهان سلف و ناظران سابق كافي اطاعت كاحقه نكرده كار آقارا چنانچه بايد سرانجام نداده اند و از مداخل و مخارج كتك اطلاع يافته كه بشرط مداخلت قرار واقع بهمه جهت پنج شش لك روپيه را جايداد خواهد بود و الحال در مداخلت نمودنش مبالغ خطير از خانه خود خرچ كردن است بنا بر پيش از اين در اقدام اين امر پس و پيش محظور خاطر ميكشت و صوبه بنكالا كجا بالكل بتصرف نظامت بود كه انصاحب خارج بودن كتك از اختيار نظامت بقلم مي آرند نواب مير محمد جعفر خان از ضلع بيربوم وغيره تا قريب پنج كروي مرشدآباد بتصرف غنيم داده و قريب دو كرو روپيه را طلب تخواه سپاه بر ذمه خود واجب الاوا داشته قسميكه سست عملي و هنگامه متنوعه بظهور آورده بودند مخفي نيست و احقر كه كار نظامت قبول کرده بود ميدانست كه چزي البته بدست خواهد آمد معلوم نبود كه غير از چهل هزار روپه از خانه نواب جعفر علي خان بر نخواهد آمد محض بتوجه و امداد انصاحب غنم را از بيربوم وغيره بدر ساخته در صوبه بنكالا و عظم آباد مداخلت نموده و از و ين سپاه تخفيف حاصل کرده اينهمه بدستگيري ان مشفق است نه از امداد افواج هندي زيرا كه اينها نزد

نواب میر محمد جعفر خان هم بودند و ان مشفق هرگونه
 بهر عنوان که دستگیری و امداد بر احقر و فوج احقر از افواج
 انگریزی فرموده اند خامه را چه یارا که بزبان تواند آورد
 دل ازین معنی آگاه اگر مهربانی شریف مصروف احوال احقر نمی
 بود اینقدر انتظام و بهتری کارهای اینجانب بوجهی بپهنور
 نمیرسید بلکه به نسبت احوال میر محمد جعفر خان بدتر
 میشد و احقر در عجب حالت مخمضه گرفتار است که
 متصدیان سابق نا انصاف و مهاجنان که بوقت ناظران
 پیشین ده بست لك رویه داده کار روائی نظامت میکردند
 حالا در دادن دو هزار رویه ازینجانب چشم پوشی مینمایند
 و علاوه این خزانه بحضور والا ارسال داشتن و طلب
 تخواه سپاه دادن ضرور درینصورت بخوبی تشویش و کدورتها
 لا حق است تا چند شرح دهد الحال که جنکو نایک وکیل
 جانو بی مرهقه را جواب داده رخصت کرده شد خرچ در ماه
 فوج کمپنی که بطرف کتک روانه خواهد شد چه قدر خواهد بود
 ارقام باید فرمود که ان را در یافته اگر عهده برائی خود
 خواهد دید البته بسرانجام ان خواهد کوشید و در صورت
 عدم عهده برائی اینچنان بخدمت کرامی اطلاع خواهد داد
 زیرا که در امور خارج از مقدور پرداختن و ثانی الحال بعدم
 عهده برائی از قرار داد تفاوت بجل آوردن از این ابلهان
 بیرون است درین ماده قسمیکه بر نکرند بد انموجب
 بجل آورده شود

زیاده چه بر طرازد ایام جمعیت و کامرانی مدام باد

LETTER FROM THE NAWÁB MÍR MUHAMMED KÁSÍM KHÁN
TO MR. VANSITTART.

“To the Nawáb Sáhib, the kind friend, high in dignity, exalted of rank, dispenser of benefits to relatives and friends—Health.

“After that my desire and wish for an interview, complete in delight, nay, the essence of all I long for, has been made clear to your luminous, friendly-disposed mind, the favour of a letter, perfumed with [the information of your] welfare, written on the 26th of the month Rajab, having been received with [the welcome of] restoration to health, has made my expectant mind happy and joyful with the glad tidings of the favourable disposition of one whose very nature is tempered with benevolence. It is noted by the investigation-pourtraying pen that, in invading Cuttack, the benefit of your humble servant, rather than the advantage of the Company, is the object to which your exalted views are directed; and previously it was given in writing that the expences of the Company’s army must hereafter be defrayed by my government; but now, from the contents of your friendly letter, it appears that in this matter there is not so much attention shown to your humble servant, because, finding it inconvenient for the Company to be at extraordinary expence, you have stopped the proceeding in this undertaking, although your humble servant will from his heart use every effort in this affair; and if the English army will act up to the wishes of their faithful ally, you will accomplish the business.

“It is now some length of time since the Súba of Cuttack was separated from the Nizámat (Bengal government), and given up to the sway of the Marhattas: to recover it a second time is making an addition [to what is before stipulated?]. Whatever the Company may expend on this affair your humble servant will repay; and all that had been detached from the Bengal government previous to the treaty [between us], you will regard as not included in the contract then formed. The treaty between us stipulates that wherever Zamíndárs and others within my territory shall raise up disturbance and excite disorder, the Company’s army shall lend its aid to punish any such rebellious subject. My friend! whenever did I, from the commencement of our intercourse till the present moment, utter or write a word implying that you did not act in any matter for the benefit of your humble servant, but for the advantage of the Company, that you, my friend, should write in this manner? He, to whom all secrets are manifest, well knows that from the beginning it has been constantly impressed on the mind of your humble servant,

by reason of the favours with which he has been honoured, that whatever may have been the transactions which you, Sir, have taken in hand, your aim has been purely the benefitting of your humble servant: and as to the failure of attention in your humble servant to the affair written about, the reason of it must be attributed to the state of the base Indian army, in a good and splendid service; for it, since the time of the old emperors and the former viceroys (názims), never observed obedience as it ought, nor accomplished the undertaking of its master in a becoming manner; and having obtained information relative to the incomings and outgoings of Cuttack, that on condition of its being added to [the Bengal government], certainly there will, all things considered, be a já'edál (assets for the maintenance of troops) to the amount of five or six lakhs of rupees; whilst, at present, for the purpose of gaining the addition, large sums will have to be expended from my private resources; for these reasons, doubt has before now risen in my mind: besides, how has the súbá of Bengal in its integrity been placed under the sway of the Názim? that you, Sir, should write of Cuttack's being a matter apart from the dominion of the Názim. The Nawáb Mír Muhammed Jaffier Khán gave up to the dominion of the enemy [the Marhattas] from the Zila of Bírblúm to about five kos from Murshidábád, and made himself responsible for near two krors of rupees as pay to the army; in such sort, that mal-administration, with disorder of various kinds, was produced. This is not a thing unknown; and your humble servant, when he undertook the charge of the Nizámat (government of Bengal), supposed that there would be something certainly to be obtained; he was not then aware that not more than forty thousand rupees would be got from the treasury of the Nawáb Jaffier Ali Khán. Solely by the kindness and assistance of you, Sir, was the enemy expelled from Bírblúm, &c., these parts restored to the súbá of Bengal and Patna, and a diminution effected in the debt owing to the army: all this is to be attributed to your friendly support, and not to the assistance of the Indian army, which belonged in like manner to the Nawáb Mír Muhammed Jaffier Khán [but was of no avail to him]; and what ability has the tongue (point) of the pen to describe the assistance and patronage so kindly afforded, in every way and manner, by that obliging friend to his humble servant, when he formed an army for him from among the English troops? Indeed, my heart is fully conscious that had not your exalted friendship interposed its influence in the affairs of your humble servant, this degree of order and well-doing in them could never in any way have been attained, but that they would have been worse than were the circumstances of Mír

Muhammed Jaffier Khân; and your humble servant is in such a state of distress that when the former rascally mutasaddis and bankers, who, in the times of the preceding Governors of Bengal, were ready to give ten or twenty lakhs of rupees for the management of the business of the Nizâmat, refuse even to give two thousand to the existing government: moreover, it is necessary to send treasure to the imperial presence, and to pay the army; but why should the explanation be thus drawn out in a manner which leads to perplexity and vexation? At this moment, when I have answered and dismissed Janko Nâ'ik, the Wakil of Jânâ Jî, the Marhatta, what means remain [to me] to pay the Company's troops about to proceed against Cuttack? You must write [to me], directing that, such being the case, if I shall see it possible to fulfil my engagements, I must certainly accomplish it; and, in case of my being unable to perform so much, I will respectfully explain [to you] the reasons: for to undertake what is out of one's power, and then, in one's inability to accomplish one's engagements, to depart from the contract entered into, is at variance with good faith. In this matter, whatever may be the way you shall be pleased to point out, we shall act according to that. Why should I write more? Be your days of happiness and prosperity ever-during!"

خط نوا میر محمد قاسم خان بنوا
الدوله مستر
ونسترت

گرامی نامه اتحاد امود متضمن بر اینکه از ابتدای
کوچ فوج انگریزی لغایت حصول فتح و فیروزی و مداخلت
قرار واقع کتک کمتر از پنج شش لک روپیہ خرچ خواهد شد
وامسال فرستادن قوج صورت خواهد گرفت و یا برآینده
موقوف خواهد داشت اطلاع داده اید و دو سارچن با چند
تلنکھ جهت تلاش کوره‌های فراری فرستاده شده و کپتان
کشتیر نیز پیش ازین نوشته بودند تنقیح و تضدیق اینمعنی
بواقعی نموده شود مع خطوط نواب وزیر و مستر ایلس و کپتان
کشتیر وصول نموده به‌زده خیرتها مسرور و منبسط ساختن از

نوشتهء کرامی چنان معلوم میشود که امسال فرستادن فوج
 بسمبت کتک بموجب صلاح هدیگر موقوف باید داشت
 مهربانا آنچه بقلم آورده اند واقعی است و درین روزها نزد
 اینجانب هم کشمکش اخراجات است انشاء الله تعالی عند
 الملاقات بصلاح هدیگر قسمیکه در یتمقدمه قرار خواهد یافت
 بعمل خواهد آمد* و اینجانب مرکز گفتهء کسی غرض کونی
 شنود و دوستی و اخلاص سامی را مقدم بر جمیع امور میدانم
 و در آنچه بهتری کار خود و افزایش دوستیهای فہامین می
 بیند بموجب آن بعمل می آرد مستر ایلس که بزبردستی
 و خلاف ضابطهء دوستی تلاش قلعه میخواستند اینجانب
 اوشان را مرکز دخل نخواهد داد مستر هشتنک جلالت
 جنک بہادر کہ از اینجا تشریف می آرند و مستر مکویر
 جسارت جنک بہادر کہ از اینجا بانصبوب تشریف می
 برند ارقام خواهند فرمود کہ آنها درون قلعه رفته
 مکانات سیر کرده تخصص کورہا نمایند کہ امور فہامین
 واحد است و بعنوان زبردستی در دادن تلاش بآدم
 فرستادهء مستر ایلس قباحت دارد اوشان از راه عداوت
 میخواستند ہرکام بآدم اوشان تلاش خواهد داد سبکی
 و بی اعتمادی کار اینجانب سراسر خواهد شد و تا دار
 الخلافہ و نزد جمیع صغیر و کبیر حرف بی اتفاقی فہامین
 مشہور و شایع خواهد گشت کہ سردار کوتہی عظیم آباد باین
 طور جہارہء قلعهء مونگیر گرفت اینمعنی غور نمودن ضرور
 زیادہ چہ بر طراز ایام جمعیت و کامرانی مدام باد

"From the Nawáb Mír Muhammad Kásim Khán to the Nawáb Shams-ud-daula, Mr. Vansittart.

"Your honoured letter, replete with unanimity, intimating that 'from the commencement of the march of the English army till the obtaining of victory, and Cuttack be actually entered, less than five or six lakhs of rupees will not be expended; and you have informed me that the expediting of the army may take place this year, or it may be fixed for the future: also, that you have sent two serjeants, with some sipáhis, for the purpose of searching for runaway Europeans.' Captain Carstairs, too, had before written to me that the inquiry and investigation into this matter should actually take place. Having received letters from the Nawáb Vizír (Mr. Vansittart?), as well as from Mr. Ellis and Captain Carstairs, they delighted me with the glad tidings of your welfare. From your honoured letter it appears that, for the convenience of both parties, the expediting of an army against Cuttack must be stopped for this year. My friend, what has been delineated by your pen is correct, for there is great distress with us by reason of the expeditures. God willing, at the [intended] meeting, for the advantage of both parties, in such way as the contract may be concluded with respect to this matter, in that way it shall be done; and I do not listen to the words of any designing person, but account the friendship and good will of you, Sir, as preferable to all other considerations; and may that, in which the prosperity of your affairs, as well as the increase of amity between both parties may seem to consist, be actually done. As to Mr. Ellis, who by violence, and contrary to the rules of friendship, wants to search the fort, I can never allow him to enter it; but as to Mr. Hastings, Jaládat-jang Bahádur, who is coming from your part, and Mr. McGwire, Jasárat-jang Bahádur, who is about to return from this part, I will give a written order that they be admitted within the fort, to search the different habitations, and make inquiry about the white people, because between them and us is unity of purpose; but, by reason of his insolence (ذبردستی), to allow the search to a man sent by Mr. Ellis, would be an act of infamy. He makes the demand with a view to exciting enmity; I will never give leave for the search to any man of his; it would be productive of universal contempt and mistrust in my government, and even to the Emperor's court, as well as to both high and low everywhere; it would spread as a proof of misunderstanding between [us, i.e., the Company and myself]. They would say sneeringly that the Superintendant of the Patna factory got possession of the fortress of Mongír by bullying in

this way. You should attentively consider the subject in this light. Why should I intrude on you with writing more? May your days of happiness and prosperity be ever during!"

A translation of the following letter is published in the second volume of Vansittart's Narrative, p. 97, but without the original, which strikingly illustrates the extortion and insolence to which the unhappy Nawáb was subjected.

خط نواب میر محمد قاسم خان بنواب شمس الدولہ مستر
ونسترت

نواب صاحب مشفق مہربان والا قدر عالی شان کرم فرمای
برادران و مخلصان سلامت

بعد شرح اشتیاق ملاقات کرامی کہ خلاصہ مطالب است
مشہور ضمیر عاطفت مصیر میگرداند مرقوم خامہ اتحاد شمامہ
شدہ بود کہ نزد احقر غرضمندان خواهند بود کہ بخلاف نمائی
ارادہ دارند کہ مابین اینجانب و سرداران ناخوشی
بہم رسد درینمعنی تفجص بکار بردہ ان متخللرا بسزای واقعی
رساند صاحب درینمقدمہ انچہ احقر بقلم می آرد خوب
غور باید کرد کہ از تاریخیکہ اینجانب از ان مہربان قول و
عہد کردہ و نبد و بست نمودہ از انجا عازم اینصوب شدہ است
کاهی برخلاف ان از یک ادم و سردار و سپاہی و کشتی و اجناس
متعلقہ ان مہربان متعرض نکشتہ و نہ برای فرمایشات و بہریات
معمولی محالاتیکہ بہ تنخواہ کمپنی مقرر نمودہ شدہ است یک
پیادہ فرستادہ بلکہ مطلق از ان دست بردار شدہ و در هیچ
مقدمہ ان محالات خطی بان مہربان نہ نوشتہ مہربانا

هرگاه از طرف اینجانب حرکتی که موجب "تخالف اطوار دوستی و عهد باشد بظهور نرسیده پس باید دریافت که در مجلس و نزد احقر چگونه جای کنجایش کسی خلل انداز و غرضکو تواند بود و اطوار سرداران انصاحب این ست که خلل در ملك اینجانب انداخته رعایا را تاراج میکنند و کمر بر سبکی کارهای اینجانب بسته مردمان اینجانب را بی آبرو و بپحرمت میسازند و از سرحد هندوستان تا کلکته روادار خفت و سبکی اینجانب شده اند و در هر پرنه و هر دیه دهده بست بست کوتاهی نواحداث قاهم کرده نشان و چهنده و دستک کمپنی بر پاو نمود ساخته به اذیت و اضرار رعایا و پیویاریان و غیره مردم ملکی جهد بلیغ دارند و انصاحب که بیش از این بنابر تفحص کشتیها دستکات از مهر خود درست ساخته فرستاده بودند اینجانب در هر چوکیات فرستاده بود مردمان انگریزی ان دستکات را هرگز منظور نمیدارند بلکه بزد و بست مستعد شده مردمان اینجانب را بپحرمت ساختند و میسازند و این کوتاهی های نواحداث بر پا ساخته کارها که جاری کرده اند نام ان کای کسی در کمپنی نشنیده و هرکماشته بنکالی در هر کوتاهی هنگامه آرا کشته خود را کم از کمپنی نمیدانند و در هر پرنه و هر دیه و هر کوتاهی نمک و سپیاری و روغن زرد و برنج و کاه و بانس و تات و مای ادرک و چنی و تنباکو و پمیل و پمپلا مول و افیون خرید و فروخت می نمایند و سیوای این بسیار چیزها ست تا چند نام ان نوشته شود و نوشتنش بعید از مناسب میداند و اموال و اجناس رعایا و پیویاریان و غیره بزور میگیرند

و بجای قہمت یکروپیہ پاو روپیہ میدهند و مال یک روپیہ را از راہ جبر و تعدی بقہمت پنجروپیہ ذمہواری رعایا و غیرہ مینمایند و اسامی کہ در سرکار اینجانب مאלگذاری صد روپیہ مینمایند اورا برای پنجروپیہ می بندند و فضیحت میکنند و آدم اینجانب را عمل نمیدهند حالا قریب چہار یانصد کوتہی نواحداث در محالات متعلقہ اینجانب مقرر و قائم شدہ است و در ہر کوتہی آنقدر ہنگامہ پردازی و ایذا رسانی باحوال غربا و رعایا است کہ تا چند شرح دہد عاملان ہر مکان از عملداری باز ماندہ اند چنانچہ بسبب ہمین بدعتہا و عدم حصول محصول و چوکیداری و خزانہ قریب بست پنجلک روپیہ را سالیانہ نقصان اینجانب میشود در بنصورت احقر چگونہ عہدہ برا تواند شد و زر بادشاہی بچہ قسم ادا خواہد نمود و از عہدہء اخراجات سپاہ و لایہی خود بچہ طور خواہد برآمد علی ہذا القیاس در پیرکنہ دیناچپور کہ رام ناتھ بہدري را عامل مقرر کردہ فرستادہ ام در اینجا سیوای کوتہی سابق بست کوتہی در یک کنج نواحداث شدہ است چنانچہ عامل مذکور فرد ارع مع تعداد کوتہی و واسم نویسی کماشتہا فرستادہ بود بجنس بخدمت سامنی ارسال داشت مطالعہ خواہند فرمود و ہر کوتہی دار اینجا ہچو مختار است کہ ہر وقت میخواہد عامل مذکور را می نشانند و ہر وقت میخواہد بیدخل میسازد لہذا متصدعہ است کہ فکر و تدبیر ہچو خرید و فروخت کاه و بانس و غیرہ کہ کاهی در کمپنی نشدہ بود زود باید فرمود و قسمیکہ احقر محالات را کمپنی تفویض نمودہ چیزی کار نمیدارد لازم کہ ہمین قسم

انصاحب و سرداران و غیره مردمان انگریزی هم از محالاتی که
 بتوجه انصاحب بعلاقه احقر است چیزی کار نداشته باشند
 و اینجانب آنچه قول و قرار کرده بود بغض الهی چیزی در آن
 تفاوت نکرده و نمیکند و نخواهد کرد پس چرا سرداران و غیره
 مردمان انگریزی کار اینجانب را سبک و خفیف می سازند و
 روادار نقصان اینجانب میشوند زود متوجه شده فکر این معنی
 باید نمود و بوجهی تساهل نخواهند فرمود که این معنی موجب
 سبکی امورات و نقصان تمام تر احقر است زیاده چه بر
 طرازد ایام جمعیت و کامرانی مدام باد

A LETTER OF THE NAWÁB MÍR MUHAMMAD KÁSİM KHÁN TO THE
 NAWÁB SHAMSUDDAULA, MR. VANSITTART.

"To the Nawáb-Sáhib, the kind friend, high in authority, exalted in dignity, dispenser of bounty to relatives and friends—Health!

"After the declaration of my ardent wish for the honour of an interview, which is indeed the choicest of things to be desired, has been made known to [your] mind, the benevolence of which is unbounded, it is written by [your] concord-perfumed pen, that near [me] your humble servant there must be designing people, who, contrary to appearances, harbour the intention to excite dissatisfaction between this side [myself] and the Sardárs (Company's officers), into which matter investigation should be made, and the mischief-maker be punished. On this head, you, Sir, should well consider what I am writing, which is that when, after having made an agreement as well as a settlement of affairs, I took my departure from you to proceed to this quarter, I have never, in contradiction to that agreement, offered opposition to any individual, whether officer or sepoy, or stopped any boat or merchandize of yours, my friend; nor have I ever sent any one piyáda (messenger) for farmá'isháts or the customary (bahriyát) allowances of the districts (maháls) assigned to the Company; but have in all respects refrained from them; nor have I ever written to you, my friend, any letter relative to those maháls (districts). O friend, at no time has any act proceeded from me which can be

regarded as contrary to the observances of amity and the treaty ; you may, therefore, be assured that in the court or society of your humble servant, no mischief-maker nor evil designer could possibly find admission : yet it is the practice of the Sardárs on your side to excite a disturbance in my dominions, that they may plunder my subjects, and presuming on the low state of affairs here, they insult and dishonour my people : so that from the very frontier of Hindustan to Calcutta they have occasioned contempt and disrespect for us. Having, moreover, newly erected in every pargana and every village, in some ten, in others each twenty factories (kothí) ; and having set up the flags and standards of the Company, and exhibited the Company's licenses (dastak¹), they use every exertion to injure and distress the tillers of the land as well as the traders and others belonging to my government. The permits, too, and orders for the searching of boats, which you, Sir, sent heretofore, correctly prepared and signed with your own seal, and which I have forwarded to every (chaukí) place for the collection of customs, are uniformly disregarded by the Englishmen ; nay, by beating and putting in confinement, they have insulted and continue to insult my people. Having, as above noticed, raised up these new factories, they commit such acts there as were never before heard of in the country ; so that every Bengálí agent in every factory, having become an exciter of disturbances, looks upon himself as nothing below the Company ; and in every pargana and village and factory buys and sells salt, betel-nut, butter, rice, straw, bambú, matting (tát), fish, ginger, sugar-candy (chíní), tobacco, pepper, long pepper (píplá-múl), and opium¹ ; besides these things, also, there are more,—too many to be enumerated. Moreover, they take away by force the goods and chattels of the peasants, traders, &c , and for an article worth a rupee they give a quarter of a rupee ; exacting, on the other hand, by violence, five rupees from a respectable man for merchandize worth not more than one rupee : and a cultivator (asámí), who is a payer of rent to the amount of a hundred rupees to our government, they dishonour by sending to prison for five rupees. To any one person of mine they give no employment or office (aml). At this time, near four or five hundred factories, newly built, are established in the districts (mahálát) of my government : and in each of those factories such trouble and injury is occasioned to the affairs of the poor and the peasants as cannot be described. My collectors in every town have been obliged to give up the duties of their offices ; so that by reason of these innovations, and the impossibility

¹ In these articles, the English were, by treaty, restrained from dealing.

of collecting the taxes, the customs, and the revenue, there is a deficiency to my government of nearly twenty-five lakhs of rupees annually. When things are in this state, how can your humble servant fulfil his engagements? How pay the Emperor's money? How discharge what is due to the army? How provide what is indispensable for himself? As, for instance, in the pargana of Dinájpúr, where I have sent and fixed Rám Náth Bhadrí as collector, in addition to the former factory, there are set up twenty new ones in one market (ganj), of which the aforesaid collector has transmitted me a list; as well as the names of the agents (gumáshtahá), which is forwarded unaltered to you, Sir, for your inspection; and every agent there acts as if he were under no authority; so that, when he pleases, he allows my collector to sit down [in the factory], and, when he pleases, he forbids his entrance.¹ It is, therefore, a matter of the greatest anxiety [to me] that your attention and deliberation be directed to the manner in which straw, bambú, &c., that never appertained to the Company, are bought and sold; and, in like manner, as this government meddles not with the affairs of the districts (mahálát) which are given over to the Company, it is fit that you, Sir, together with the Sardárs (gentlemen in office), and others the English people, should not have to do with the districts which, by your favour, are now belonging to your humble servant. In all that was stipulated for and contracted on my part, not a single thing at variance has been done, is doing, or shall be done; then why do the Sardárs and others, Englishmen, debase and render contemptible our authority, as well as countenance what is detrimental to us? Have the goodness shortly to take these matters into consideration, and let them not be overlooked in any way; for these things are bringing the authority of your humble servant into contempt, and are most detrimental to his interest. Why should I write more? Be the days of your happiness and prosperity ever-during!"

A translation of the following letter has also been printed in Vansittart's *Memoirs* (vol. ii. p. 43); but it places in so distinct and lively a manner the unprincipled proceedings of the Council of Fort William in their conduct towards Kásim Alí, and the feelings which it could not fail to inspire, that it is highly valuable as a historical record, and deserves to be further authenticated; the original, therefore, is here for the first time printed, with a translation prepared by Mr. Shakespear for the *Journal*.

¹ Or, "forbids him to interfere."

خط نواب میر محمد قاسم خان بصاحبان کوسلیان
کلکتہ

انصاحبان کہ مبلغ بست لك روپہ از ینجانب ناحق
طلب مینمایند بسیار تعجب مینماید اینمعنی از ضابطہ
مردم عہدہ بیرون است چیزیکہ نکرقتند و انکار کردند
بعد از ان نادم شدہ بنام اقای خودہا گرفتن میخواہند
و طلب میکنند از مناسب بعید است فی الواقع کہ
اینجانب پیشتر قرار کردہ بود کہ بنواب شمس الدولہ مستر
هنري ونسترت بہادر و بعضی صاحبان دیگر خواہم داد ان
زمان قبول نکرده انکار محض نمودند و گفتند کہ میان
خیرخواہ کار کمپنی ہستہم برای خودہا چیزی نمیخواہم
پردوان و غیرہ سئلہ محال بکمپنی بدہند کہ ہمین کافست
و اینجانب برای صاحبان کہ قبول کردہ بود انصاحبان
از ینملک تشریف بردند یک دو صاحب از ان میان
کہ در ینملک تشریف میدارند معلوم نمیشود کہ از ینجانب
طلب خواہند نمود انصاحب کہ در ینجا تشریف آورده اند
و ناحق دعوی از ینجانب میدارند بکدام دست آویز
و بکدام داعیہ از اینجانب طلب مینمایند اینجانب کہ
بانصاحبان برای کار کمپنی قول و قرار کردہ است باید کہ
بر ان مد نظر دارند و اینجانب ہر گاہ قرار کردہ کہ
پردوان و غیرہ سئلہ محال بکمپنی خواہم داد ان مہربانان
از طرف کمپنی اقرار کردہ نوشتہ دادہ اند کہ بعد یافتن
پردوان و غیرہ دامی و درمی از شما زیادہ نخواہم طلبید

چنانچه اینجانب هر چه قرار کرده بود موافق آن
 هکي و تمامی اینای وعده نموده سیوای آن بموجب گفته
 وپاس خاطر نواب شمس الدوله بهادر و حوשי خود مبلغ پنج
 لك رویه افزود در سرکار کمپنی برای آن دادم که کمپنی از
 نواب شمس الدوله بهادر راضی و خوشنود باشد و اینجانب را
 بهر امور دوست خود تصور نمایند بفضل الهی آنچه
 اینجانب قرار کرده بود تا حال هکي را سرانجام داده و در يك
 کار اختلاف نکرده آن مهربان با وجود يکه قسم اقسام
 در میان آورده اقرار نامه بمهر کمپنی نوشته داده اند و قول
 و قرار نموده اند و الحال که از اینجانب طلب مینمایند
 اینجانب کاهی از انصاحبان قرض نکرده و قبول نه نموده
 و هیچ وجه حقوق انصاحبان بر اینجانب نیست اینجانب
 يك رویه کسی بر ذمه خود ندارد و نخواهد داد و رسم نو که
 انصاحبان بر خلاف قول و قرار جاری کردن میخواهند اینجانب
 این حرفهای قضیه آمیز را بر پا نخواهد کرد و نخواهد
 شنید فرموده اند که آنچه کدورت از طرف انگریز دارد
 آن را از دل محو ساخته تصفیه نماید بدریافت اینمعنی
 تعجب دست داد که کدام حرف موجب کدورت از
 اینجانب سرزده و کدام کس اینقسم سخنان دروغ پیش
 انصاحبان اظهار نموده لازم که قرار واقع تجویز و تفحص
 اینمعنی نمایند و بیش ازین هر حقیقی که از مردمان
 انصاحبان سرزد شده بود مفصلاً برای اطلاع سامی مرقوم
 نموده است و ضابطهء دنیا است که در میان برادر و پدر و پسر

و دوستان و احبا حرف نشیب فراز می آید و زود بصفا و اخلاص
 بتبدل می باید و اینقسم حرفها قابل آن نبود که خاطر
 اینجانب را منسوب بکدورت نموده سخنانیکه بعید از
 شرايط دوستي و اتحاد باشد گفته بفرستند ایما شده بود که
 مردم شیر و بد طینت در اینجا است که غمازي انصاحبان
 بحضور اینجانب مینماید مهربانا پیش ازین مکرر نوشته
 شده که کدام حرام زاده در مجلس اینجانب خواهد بود
 که چیزی غمازي از طرف انصاحبان بحضور اینجانب
 تواند نمود بمجرد دریافت اینمعنی آن حرام زاده را
 بسزا رسانیده شود و اگر بدریافت انصاحبان در آمده
 باشد نام او نوشته بفرستند که به تنبیهش پرداخته شود
 و تا حالت تحریر بسیار و بهر جا کوتاهیهای نواحداث
 برای خرید و فروخت اجناس هر قسم که خارج از این
 تجارت است بابت کمپنی و انصاحبان مقرر و قایم شده
 است تا حال اینجانب نه مردمان اینجانب چیزی تعرض
 رسانیده و نه همانعت کرده و نه يك روپه نقصان انصاحبان
 شده حیف است که آن صاحبان بی سبب و بی تحقیق
 همچنین سخنان را در دل جا میدهند و به نسبت احوال
 تودد اشتغال مخلص بر زبان می آرند و مردم انصاحبان که
 از طرف اینجانب نزد انصاحبان همیشه بدکوئی و غمازي
 مینماید و سخنان مخالفت ظاهر میسازد انکس از آن صاحب
 پوشیده نیست و مستر ایلس روبری اینجانب اینقدر ظلم و
 بدعت بر مردمان اینجانب نمود و ملک را ویران ساخت و

اینجانب را در تمام هندوستان خفیف و سبک گردانید و در هر امور نظامت صوبه بهار خلال انداخت چنانچه اینهمه احوال از ابتدا تاحال شرح وار بنواب شمس الدوله بهادر نوشته ام و حالا از سر نو اینمقدمه را برای این طول دادن نمیخواهم که اینجانب البته میدانم که نواب شمس الدوله بهادر و صاحبان کونسل اینمقدمه را خوب انصاف و تجویز خواهند نمود که هر کس بی موجب و بی سبب از اینجانب اخذ و عداوت کرده است تنبیه او قرار واقع خواهند نمود که باز کسی دیگر خلال انداز امورات اینجانب نکردد و در کارهای اینجانب دخل نکند تا که انصاف نکرده تنبیه او نخواهند نمود کارهای اینجانب انتظام نخواهد یافت ایما شده بود که اخلاص و دوستی و قول و قرار انگریز را راست و درست از دل تصور نماید فی الواقع که اینمعنی از پیشتر بخاطر اینجانب متحقق است که در اخلاص و ارتباط اینجانب و انصاحبان بوجهی تفاوت نخواهد شد و هر چند مردم بد نهاد سخنان مخالفت در میان آرد و غازی نماید خللی در میان دوستی و اتحاد فہمیین راه نخواهد یافت زیرا که بیقین میدانم که قول و عهد کلاه پوشان کاهی اختلاف و زوال پذیر نیست و آنچه انصاف و تجویز مینمایند راست و درست است

LETTER FROM THE NAWÁB MÍR MUHAMMAD KÁSİM KHÁN TO
THE COUNCIL OF FORT WILLIAM.

"It is a cause of great surprise that you, Sirs, should unjustly ask for a sum of twenty lakhs of rupees from me: such a procedure is out

of character for any respectable person. It is far from proper that you should now demand what you would not before receive, and refused; but, repenting of what you had done, you should subsequently make the demand in the name of your masters. The case is this: some time ago I promised that I would give it to Mr. Henry Vansittart and certain other gentlemen; but at that time they refused, saying, 'We are well-wishers to the Company's affairs, and we cannot take anything for ourselves; let Bardwán, &c., three maháls be given to the Company; that is sufficient.' For the sake of the gentlemen who assented to the contract, but who have now left this country, as well as for the sake of two or three from among them still remaining here, let it not be made public that you thought of instituting this demand; and with what sort of *dast-áwez* (writing), and with what kind of petition, can those gentlemen, who have honoured this country with their coming here [lately], and who unfairly make this claim on me, solicit aught of us? It behoves them to have regard to the contract entered into between me and those gentlemen on the part of the Company. When I assented to give up to the Company, Bardwán, &c., three maháls, those friendly persons,¹ who acted on the part of the Company, gave me a written assurance, as agreed upon, that 'after the getting possession of Bardwán, &c., three maháls, I will not ask from you a *dám* or *dirhem* more.' Whatever I had promised, that in full and completely have I performed; besides, in consequence of what I had said, and to secure the good will of the Nawáb Shams-ud-daula Bahádur, as well as for the gratification of myself, I gave the sum of five lakhs of rupees over and above, for the purpose that the Company might be satisfied and pleased with the Nawáb Shams-ud-daula, and might consider me in all things as their friend. By the favour of heaven, whatever I promised, that altogether have I hitherto accomplished, without in even one instance breaking my engagement. That friend [Mr. Vansittart?], in addition to a kind of adjuration,² gave [me] a written covenant, bearing the seal of the Company, and settled the agreement; and now you make an [additional] demand. I have never borrowed from those gentlemen [the Council], nor have I received [aught]; and those gentlemen have in no way any just claim, nor has a single rupee been entrusted [by them] to my charge: I shall not, therefore, pay [back aught]. It is

¹ In the original, a plural, as here rendered; but, from what follows, only one person seems intended, and that may have been Mr. Vansittart.

² قسم اقسام (doubtful as to the sense); perhaps a solemn oath may be really intended.

a novel practice which you, gentlemen, are seeking to establish, in contradiction to the agreement; but neither will I propagate unfriendly reproaches, nor will I listen to them. You say, 'let all mistrust (كدورت) which may have been entertained towards the English, be obliterated and cleared from the mind.' At this remark I am perfectly astonished. What have I uttered which can be regarded as an indication of mistrust? And what person can have communicated false words of this import to you? It is indispensable that you cause a strict inquiry and investigation into this. Hitherto, every word used by your people has been written down in detail for your information; and it is the fixed rule of good morals that if any jarring should take place between brothers, or father and son, or friends and associates, it should quickly be replaced by sincerity and affection. Such reproaches, however, have never before been made me, as that my mind is affected with mistrust (كدورت)—words which are far remote from the ordinances of concord and friendship. You write, 'Intimation has been given [us], that there is a certain ill-disposed person with you, who slanders us in your presence.' Before this, too, you had written repeatedly that there might be some scoundrel (حرام زاده) in my court, who ventured to vilify you in my presence; and that should such one be discovered, he ought forthwith to be given over to punishment.' If such an one, indeed, has been found out by you, let his name be transmitted in writing, that he may get adequate punishment. My letter is already very long; but [allow me to say that] in every place new factories are being founded on behalf of the Company and you, Gentlemen, for the buying and selling of articles of every kind, not enumerated in the regulations for the trade; yet, hitherto, neither I nor any of my people have offered any opposition thereto, nor thwarted [you], nor occasioned the detriment of one single rupee to you, Gentlemen. It is a pity that you should admit, without cause or proof, such ideas in your minds, and should with the tongue, give utterance to them, in regard to your sincerely attached friend. It is not unknown to us what person among you, Gentlemen, is constantly speaking ill of and slandering us; and Mr. Ellis, whilst he was present with me, committed such acts of tyranny and oppression towards my people as tended to drive the inhabitants from the country, as well as to defame and degrade me throughout Hindustan; giving rise to distraction in all the affairs of the government of Behár, the particulars of which I specified, in a letter of detail from the very beginning till now, to the Nawáb Shams-ud-daula Bahádúr (Mr. Vansittart): at present, to avoid pro-

lixity, I will not repeat this subject; but I certainly assure myself that the Nawáb Shams-ud-daula Bahádur and the gentlemen of the Council will investigate this my cause [of complaint] in a judicial way; so that whoever he may be who has cavilled and manifested animosity, without reason, against me, he may not escape actual punishment, to the end that others may be deterred from mischief-making and interfering in my affairs; for if he should not be tried, he will meet with no punishment, and the affairs of my government can never exist in good order. It is, moreover, intimated that I should consider the friendship, alliance, and treaty with the English as good and unobjectionable: in truth, this conviction is so firmly rooted in my heart, that any separation or break in the alliance and connexion between myself and you, Gentlemen, can in no way ever occur. Though an ill-disposed individual may introduce unfriendly words, and propagate slander, yet no actual interruption can possibly be effected in the friendship and concord existing between us, as I have full confidence that the words and promises of the hat-wearers¹ are never disregarded or broken; and that which trial and investigation evince must be regarded as just and good."

¹ کلاه پوشاران hat-wearers or diadem-wearers; the word seems to bear an equivocal meaning, as if used in either a taunting or respectful sense.

ERRATUM.

Page 123—for *Sáhib-jang*, read *Sábit-jang*, as Clive's native title.

ART. VIII.—*Notes on the ancient City of Balabhipura.* By
B. A. R. NICHOLSON, ESQ. *Bombay Medical Service.*

[Read 5th April, 1851.]

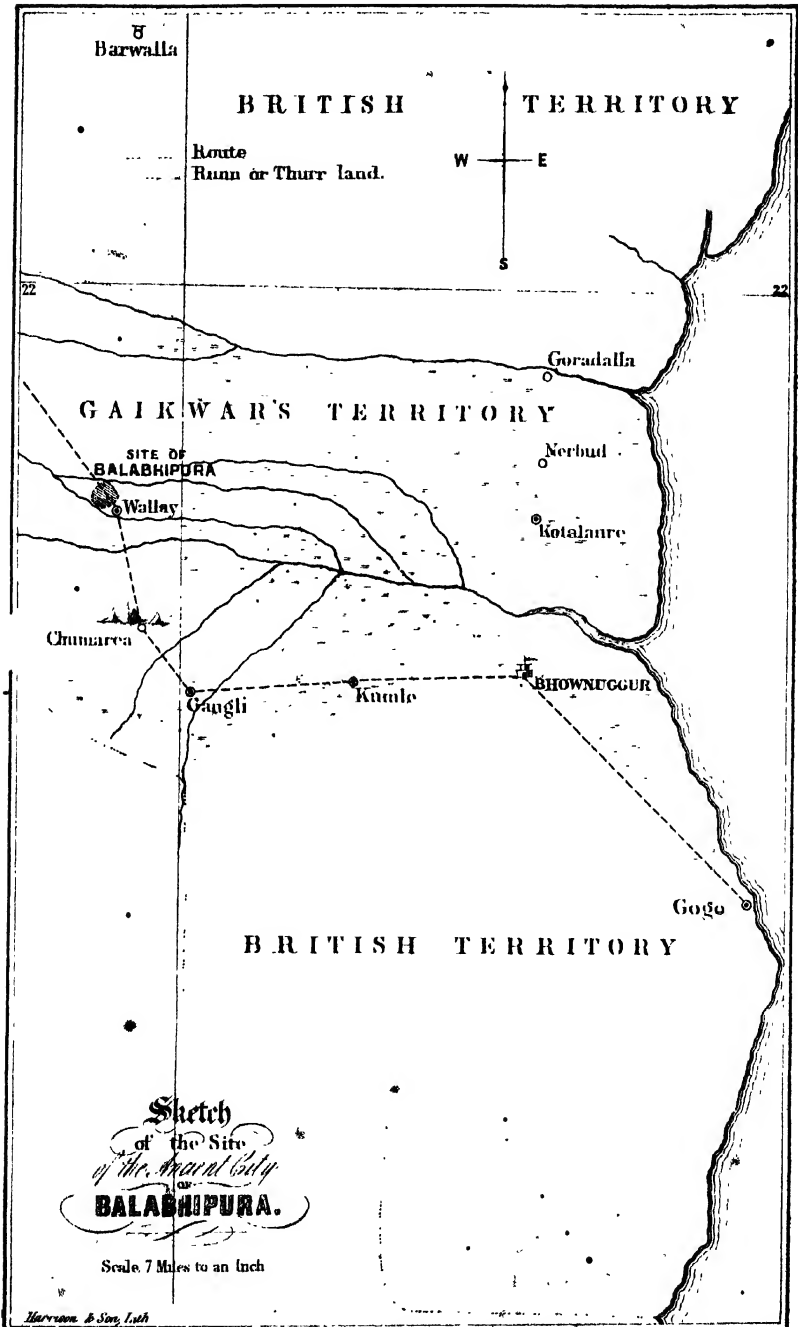
IN travelling through the eastern part of the province of Kattiawar, and in that division of it called Goheilwar (*See Fig. A*), after having traversed an extensive, perfectly level, and for the most part a desert plain, in a course from the north-west to the south-east, I found myself suddenly passing through a jungly tract of country, the vegetation of which, with the exception of gramina, was entirely composed of pîlu bushes or trees, as they are named in the north-west of India—the (الرك) *ark*, of the Arabs (*Salvadora Persica* of Linnæus). The surface of the country, through which my route had previously lain, was dotted here and there with a solitary tree of the *Acacia Arabica*, and consisted of a very deep alluvial soil, as evinced by the banks of several nałas and small river-courses, many of these containing a good volume of water; but from the almost complete level on which they run, all are very sluggish in their movements. Most of these streams, and also of the soil, are impregnated with salt, which in some parts covers the surface of the earth with an efflorescence like that of a strong hoar-frost. These streams all run to the eastward, to empty themselves into the gulf of Cambay; but, long ere reaching it, most of them are lost in the soft sandy soil in the vicinity of that arm of the sea.

The jungle of pîlu is of great extent, and the road runs through it for upwards of a mile, at a rough computation. This jungle now occupies the site of what was once a very large city. The surface is in some places strewn with the débris of red burnt bricks, that bear all the marks of having been composed of clay mixed with straw or grass, like the Hebrew task-made bricks of ancient Egypt, though the latter were only sun-dried.

The pîlu trees, many of them two feet in the diameter of the stem, were each growing on the apex of a small mound, most probably formed by the accumulation of dust, of which much is carried about by the wind during the hot season of the year, and the trunks of the trees would form a nucleus for its collection. These monticules were clothed with grass, which still retained some verdure owing to the kindly shade of the tree surmounting it. One peculiarity in this assemblage of the *Salvadora Persica* on this spot, is that

Fig. A.

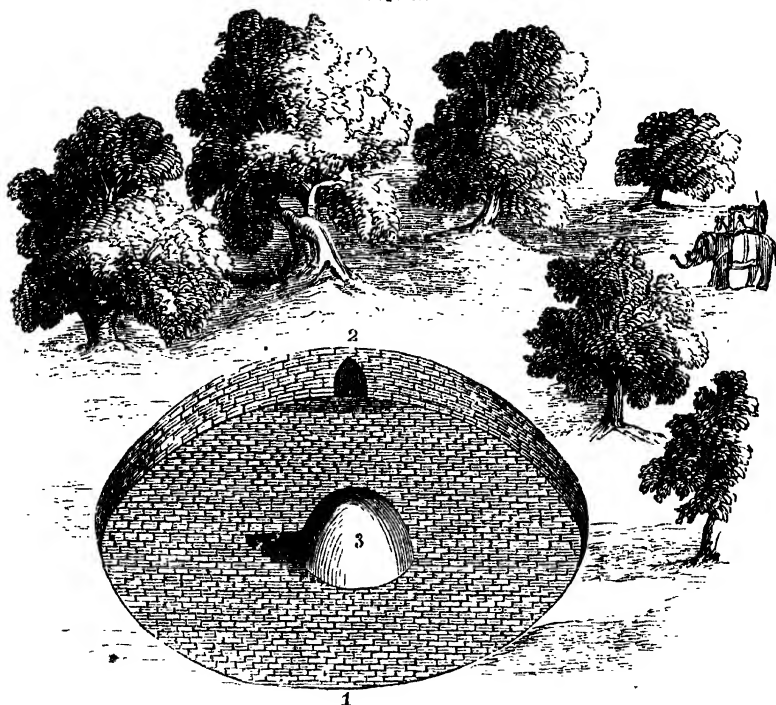
Dholera



the tree is by no means common in the country immediately round about this place: none had occurred, for a long distance, before reaching this spot, nor do any occur to the southward, at least till we reach the village of Chumarwara. .

In the midst of this jungle there is a circular inclosure (*See Fig. B, No. 1*)¹ of about fifteen feet in diameter, much resembling the temple inclosures of the Gonds in the south of India, evidently devoted to religious ceremonies. It is sunk about twenty inches in the ground, and is surrounded, to that height, reaching to the surface of the earth, by a wall of ancient red bricks, in shape like those we at present use, and, as will be seen by the accompanying rough sketch, the floor is

Fig. B.



paved with red brick. In the east face of the surrounding wall is a niche (*See Fig. B, No. 2*) containing the wreck of some obliterated figure, of which nothing can now be made out. In the centre of the floor rises the top of what in appearance is a large granite globe,

¹ There is a similar temple in the rajah's garden at Bhowuggur.

about three feet in diameter, and about eighteen inches high above the pavement (*See Fig. B, No. 3*).¹

This circle is kept very clean, and is evidently in some way or another in connection with the religious formulæ of the country. But I regret that I could arrive at no intelligible account of the same.

There can be little doubt that this Druidical temple is a comparatively recent erection of ancient materials.

Near this circle extensive excavations were made and making for the purpose of extracting, from under a superincumbent depth of from twelve to eighteen feet of earth, large, oblong, square red and yellow fire-baked bricks, similar to those brought from the banks of the Euphrates, being the remains (as I ascertained from the thākūr of Wallay) of a town partly built on and almost entirely built of, the ruins of the ancient city of Balabhipura.

For nearly two years (for so long only have they been acquainted with the existence of these brick *mines*) have a considerable number of men been collecting and selling these bricks for building in the neighbouring villages and towns - some being shipped on the Karri, a branch from the gulf of Cambay, are carried to Bhownuggur, the capital of the country. As far as my examination went, the soil was unmixed with fossils, or even with the débris of the ruins it had buried.

The broken bricks seen on the road must have formed part of some building of height which had not been submerged, and which the corroding hand of time had subsequently levelled, if it had not been done by the natives of Wallay to assist in building their town.

I observed in the excavations, several floors of houses, paved with large yellow bricks, which remained on their primitive level, attesting that at least they had not been overthrown by any great convulsion of nature, though such an occurrence may have been the actual cause of their ruin; of which we have an example in the village of Sindri, near the mouth of the Indus, which, after the great earthquake of 1819 (of which we have never yet had a satisfactory account, and if there was no deeply hidden connection between the two, still it is curious to know that an earthquake took place at the same time in Mexico, and I believe also in Sumatra,) sunk down to a depth of twelve or fifteen feet, and was immediately submerged in a lake that

¹ At first sight it struck me that this might be the top of some monument of the ancient city; and it may be so, for this circular enclosure is built on the ground over the ruins of the city.

now occupies its site, in the midst of which, not many years ago, parts of the walls were visible. If, in after-times, a rising of the ground about Sindri should occur, or if the water of the lake should find an outlet, we should be furnished with a perfect resemblance in condition to the city we are treating of.

To return again to Balabhipura:—the side walls of some of the houses are yet standing to the height of a foot or so.

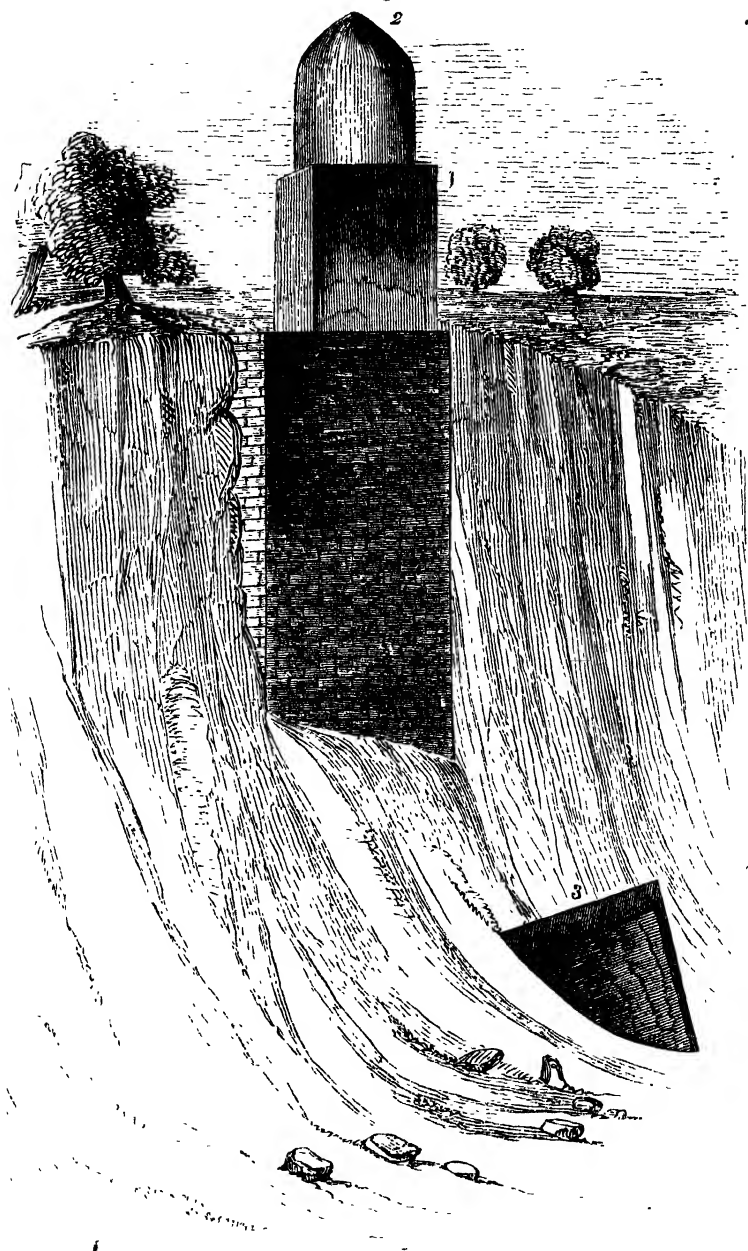
At a short distance to the west of the circular inclosure lies a nandī (figure of a Bráhmañi bull) of the full size of nature, well formed of polished granite, but split longitudinally in two halves, the act, it is said, of a pādsháh of Delhi in search of treasure; but if it was the deed of a Mussulman iconoclast, more likely he was incited to it by religious zeal.

Further west, on the side of a quarry-like hollow, about twenty feet deep and forty in diameter, stands a square-looking pillar (*See Fig. C, No. 1*) strongly built of red burnt brick and mortar, one side of which is covered by, and lost to sight in, the soil. On the top of this mass of masonry stands an enormous lingam (𑂔𑂱𑂔𑂰) (*See Fig. C, No. 2*) of one solid piece of polished granite, evidently not in its original position, being out of the perpendicular; and its square pedestal (*See Fig. C, No. 3*) of the same material, lies half-buried at the bottom of the excavation. The lower half of the ling, as will be seen by the accompanying sketch, is squared, and about three feet in diameter; the top part is circular, and rounded off at the end. This stone had also, according to fame, been dismantled by the same devastating Delhi pādsháh, and had been exhumed and placed in its present position by one of the ancestors of the thákur of Wallay.

It is probable that these granite monuments may not be of the same antiquity as the ruins of the city, or rather with the original city: they seem to be of the same era as similar works discovered in the south of India, but if coeval, the city would not prove one of very remote antiquity. But it is probable that a change of religion, ingrafted on one more ancient, has introduced them here.

About a quarter of a mile due west, and on the verge of the jungle, a pile of large granite stones, overlying each other in a disorderly manner, measuring ten feet long by three in breadth, and about one foot in thickness, has been partly laid bare, by a torrent having carried away part of a mound of earth which lay above them. On the top of the mound, which is about six feet in depth of earth, grow several very large ním-b-trees, the *Melia azadirachta*. Many similar stones are used as pillars and lintels, and promiscuously built into some apparently ancient (though, in comparison with the sur-

Fig. C.



rounding ruins, modern) Hindu temples near the mound already mentioned. Others of these stones have been set up, carved, and used as palyads, bearing dates about 200 years ago. These are evidently the remains of some large building which has shared the fate of all things earthly.

The walls of the town of Wallay are in a great measure built of cyclopean blocks of granite, which, it is said, were removed from an ancient road or pier leading from Balabhipura to the karri or port. The thákur stated that the karri anciently was much nearer the city of Balabhipura than it is at present to its ruins, when a great trade was carried on here. This would tend to show that the gulf of Cambay is gradually being curtailed of its limits, a circumstance that accords with the views I had adopted after examining the breccia strata of the Island of Perim, situated in that gulf, the result of which was communicated to and published by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, in 1840, in their Transactions.

The fact that the gulf is diminishing is also, I think, evinced by the extensive and evidently sea-deserted tracts of downs at Dornus, near the mouth of the river Tapi or Tapti.

On making inquiries of the thákur concerning the globular granite stone in the centre of the circular temple, he stated that there is a legend in his family 'that some one of his ancestors, in the hope of finding treasure, had attempted to dig up the stone; but after a hard day's labour, on repairing to work in the morning, it was found that the stone had, during the night, sunk just as deep in the soil as it was before operations had been commenced against it. After several futile attempts, the peculiar deity or *genius loci* appeared to the covetous sinner during the night, and forbade him to pursue his useless and sacrilegious attempts; and, in consequence, the natives implicitly believe that no mortal efforts can remove this stone.

There is also a legend concerning the destruction of the city, to the following effect:—"This country in ancient times was inhabited by a race of people quite distinct from the present natives, when a mendicant Bráhman arrived at the gates, demanding food and lodging, which having been rudely denied to the holy man, he took a cup of water (though where he procured it this legend saith not), dashed it against the walls, and at the same time uttering certain maledictions, he shook the dust from his feet and departed;"—shortly afterwards the whole city, together with its inhabitants, were swallowed up by an earthquake, or some other destructive convulsion of nature. May not this fable shadow out a Hindu conquest of this city prior to its entombment in the bowels of the earth? And thus would be solved

the apparent incongruity of the ling and nandī in connection with the presumed remote antiquity of the city. But this surmise would again perhaps be assigning a greater antiquity to these monuments than they can claim.

On inquiry after antiquities, the thākur informed me that copper household utensils, &c., had been found, which the labourers, who pay him a small tribute, appropriated to themselves. Also, that two copper plates, covered with inscriptions, had been discovered and sent to Bhownuggur.

All the granite, of which such abundance has been used in the building and decoration of this city, is said to have been obtained from the Chumara hills, a group of granite peaks situated two or three kos directly southward of the ruins.

The extreme antiquity of these ruins I think is proved, perhaps not so much from the depth of the superincumbent soil which has overwhelmed them (for this might be the work of a very short period of time) as from the enormous size of the very slow growing *Salvadora Persica* flourishing upon it; from the art of making such excellent bricks of a mixture of straw and clay (for on breaking a fragment of one of them, a great many tubular cavities are seen, running in all directions through its substance); and from the use of these bricks to pave the floors in their houses, so totally at variance with the knowledge and customs of the present race of Hindus, whose habits we have been accustomed to consider as less changeable than the laws of the Medes and Persians. These points indicate the antiquity of the ruins more than the cyclopean dimensions and the fine workmanship of the granite monuments, for we can with accuracy, I believe, date the time when similar works of art were produced in other parts of India.

When the bricks are first dug out of the soil, they are saturated with moisture, and are softish, but on being exposed to the sun, resume their pristine hardness. The yellow bricks appear to be softer than the red ones, and it is probable the former had been burnt in straw, whilst the latter had been baked in cow-dung or wood fires.

I now proceeded to Chumarwara in order to examine the quarries whence it is stated that Balabhipura had drawn her supplies. The heat was excessive, and I despatched a native to look for and to apprise me of the position of the quarries in the hills, whilst I rested at the foot; but on his return he reported that he had not found any such places. These singular-looking peaks, resembling islands rising out of the water, consist of a light-coloured granite. The lower part of the chief one, on which some portion of the village of Chumarwara

is built (*See Fig. D, No. 2*), on the north-east side consists of immense granite boulders, all more or less rounded off at the ends and sides into spheroids or oblong rollers, like rocks that have been long exposed to the action of water. Several smaller hills, all very rugged, and betraying in some places the columnar structure, are studded at some little distances around the principal hill; but the visible parts of these smaller ones are perfectly unconnected with the chief one, and the ground (*See Fig. D, No. 1*) between them, from one hill to another, is as level as the surface of water; and that it has been thus formed by water there can exist no reasonable doubt, for from this point eastward the Runn or water-deserted desert extends to the gulf of Cambay, now several miles distant. I had no means of ascertaining the height of these peaks, but should not think that the highest exceeded one hundred feet; though on this point I may have been much mistaken, and the mirage, which was in full force at the time, would not assist me in my conjecture.

If there are really no quarries to be found on the exposed parts of these peaks (but I do not put much dependance on the native's assertions), it would lead us to infer that the catastrophe had been the result of a subsidence of the group of hills, together with the adjacent country; water (most likely of the sea) had then filled up the space, and been the cause of all the appearances already described. But, in this case, how is the water to be got rid of, unless we take it for granted that there had been a subsequent subsidence of the gulf of Cambay? That this has in reality either been the case, or that the bed of this gulf must at one time have been upheaved, the existence of the Island of Perim attests. For a moment, assuming the latter theory to be correct, we can easily imagine that the bed of a large sea being suddenly elevated, the water would overflow the neighbouring country, which was nearly on a level with its surface before the commotion took place. The water would then remain over its new acquisition till time and the action of the water had deepened its obstructed bed. And this theory derives some support from the fact that several of the strata composing the Island of Perim have been washed away from around it, which at one time must have formed the bottom of the gulf, and the remains of these strata, forming the island, are high above the water, as can be ascertained at once by a look at the section of that island.¹

From the general appearance of the country, there can be no doubt that the deluge, from whatever cause arising, which filled up all the

¹ See plate in No. 1 of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society's Transactions.

Fig. D.



ravines and chasms which must have existed among these hills, converting many of the former into perfectly level plains of half a mile across, and leaving only the peaks of the hills uncovered, had swallowed up the city of Balabhipura. The water would appear to have become still like a lake; and that it had subsided very gradually, we may judge from the accumulation of soil deposited.

The same appearance of hills as if rising out of water, that is, of hills rising there out of the earth, while the surface of the latter remains as flat as that of water, is seen in the hills of Balacheri, on the west coast of Kattiawar; but there they are composed of trap, and though in ancient times they appear to have been isolated from the mainland, to which they are now connected by a narrow neck of wind or tide-collected sand, yet the sea, during spring-tides, or strong north-west winds, partially covers the flat land between the hills and the mainland.

At Balacheri the agent is still working, while that at Chumara, having performed its rôle, has ceased. These flats at both places are most probably owing to similar causes, though under different actions, and in the former case (Balacheri) the sea is slowly but certainly receding from the land.

Notes in reference to the different works in which the city or dynasty of Balabhipura is mentioned.

1. Asiatic Journal, vol. xxviii. p. 191. Colonel Todd discovered that this dynasty had a distinct era. "The Balabhi Samvat, or era¹ of the flight from Balabhipura, used in Saurashtra (Kattiawar), which dates 375 years subsequent to Vicramāditya." The date of this flight seems to be marked in the following passage from Todd's Travels in Western India, p. 268:—

2. "Balabhi, the ancient capital of the princes of Mewar, when driven from the land by the Indo-Getic invaders, during the first centuries of the era of Vicrama. I was grieved to find that the city, which in former days was 18 kos (22 miles) in circumference, and in which 'the bells of 360 Jain temples rang the votaries to prayer,' had left not a vestige of its greatness save the foundation bricks, which are frequently dug up, upwards of two feet in length, and weighing half a mannd, or thirty-five pounds, each. The Gohil chief rejoiced my heart to hear him give its ancient designation in full—

¹ As shown by the Balabhi inscription. This era is also mentioned in the Satrunji Māhātmya as taking its rise one century before that work was written. Todd's Travels, p. 216.

Balabhipura. He assured me there was absolutely nothing left to interest a visitor, and I abandoned my design of proceeding there. Balabhi continued to be occupied by a descendant of the ancient race of Suryavansa princes until the time of Sid Raj, who expelled him for his oppression of the sacerdotal tribe, on whom, upon the completion of that gigantic temple, the Roodra Mala, at Sidpoor, he conferred the city, together with 1000 townships in sasun (religious alienation). It continued in possession of the grantees until internal dissensions half exterminated the community, when one of the belligerents bribed the Gohil chief with the offer of their adversaries' portion of the lands to come to their aid; since which period, three centuries ago, they have been subject to the Gohils."

3. The Yutis of Balli and Sandaree, in Marwar, the descendants of those who were expelled, on its sack in S. 300 (A.D. 244). See notice on the inscription at Mynal, in Mewar, which, in allusion to the greatness of its princes, appeals to 'the gates of Balabhi,' proving that they must have migrated from Balabhi, whose glories were at an end when the northern invaders 'polluted the fountain of the sun with the blood of the kine.'

4. "Not far from Balabhi there is a spot still sacred to the pilgrim, called Bheemuath, where there is a fountain, whose waters in past days were of miraculous efficacy, and on whose margin is a temple to Siva." [Todd, *Travels in Western India*, 271].

5. "But the most celebrated was the capital, Balabhipura, which for years baffled all search, till it was revealed in its now humble condition as Balbhi, 10 miles north-west of Bhownuggur." [Annals of Rajasthan, vol. i. p. 216.]

6. "The existence of this city was confirmed by a celebrated Jain work, the Satrunjya Mahatmya. [Ib. 217.]

7. "The want of satisfactory proof of the Rana's [of Mewar] emigration from thence was obviated by the most unexpected discovery of an inscription of the twelfth century, in a ruined temple on the table-land, forming the eastern boundary of the Rana's present territory, which appeals to 'the walls of Balabhi' for the truth of the action it records; and a work, written to commemorate the reign of Rana Raj Sing, opens with these words: —'In the west is Suratdés [Surat—Saurashtra—Kattiawar], a country well known; the barbarians invaded it, and conquered Bhal-ca-nath [the lord of Bhal]. All fell in the sack of Balabhipura, except the daughter of Pramara.' And the Sanderai Roll thus commences:—'when the city of Balabhi was sacked, the inhabitants fled, and founded Balli, Sanderai, and Nadole, in Mordurdés.' These are towns yet of conse-

quence, and in all the Jain religion is still maintained, which was the chief worship of Balabhipura when sacked by 'the barbarian.' The records preserved by the Jains give S. B. 205 (A.D. 524) as the date of this event." [Annals of Rajasthan, i. 217.]

8. "The tract about Balabhipura and northward is termed Bhal." [Ib.]

9. In a note is the following:—"Gayni, or Gajni, is one of the ancient names of Cambay (the port of Balabhipura), the ruins of which are about three miles from the modern city. [Ib.]

10. "The solar orb and its type, fire, were the chief objects of adoration of Silladitya of Balabhipura; whether to these was added that of the lingam, the symbol of Bal-nath (the sun), the primary object of worship with his descendants, may be doubted. It was certainly confined to these, and the adoption of 'strange gods' by the Sooryavanse Gehlote is comparatively of modern invention." [Ib. 219.]

11. "There was a fountain, Sooryacoonda, 'sacred to the sun,' at Balabhipura, from which arose, at the summons of Silladitya (according to the legend), the seven-headed horse Septaswa, which draws the car of Soorya to bear him to battle; with such an auxiliary no foe could prevail; but a wicked minister revealed to the enemy the secret of annulling this aid, by polluting the sacred fountain with blood. This accomplished, in vain did the prince call on Septaswa to save him from the strange and barbarous foe; the charm was broken, and with it sank the dynasty of Balabhi. Who the 'barbarian' was, that defiled with the blood of kine the fountain of the sun, whether Gete, Parthian, or Hun, we are left to conjecture." [Ib.]

12. "Amongst the earliest of the tribes which conquered a settlement in the peninsula of Saurashtra (the most interesting region in all India) was the Balla, by some authorities stated to be a branch of the great Indu-vansa, and hence termed Bali-ca-putra, and said to have been originally from Balica-des, or Balk, the Bactria of the Greeks (its former importance is still recognised in its epithet of Umul-Belad, 'the mother of cities,' as we are informed by Mr. Elphinstone): whatever truth there may be in this tradition, is is powerfully corroborated by the Bardic title bestowed on the chiefs of this race, i.e., 'Tatta Mooltan Ka Rae.' Another authority asserts that Balla was the son of Lava (pronounced Lao), eldest son of Rama; that he conquered the ancient city of Dhauk, also known as Moongy-Patun, capital of the region or division of the peninsula called Bâla-Khetra; that in process of time they founded the city of Balabhi, and assumed the title of Bala-râc that they were consequently of the race of

Surya, not Indu, and of this stock are the Ranas of Mewar. The present chief of Dhauk (who, when I passed, was in confinement) is a Balla." [Todd, *Travels in Western India*, p. 147.]

13. "The Balla pays adoration almost exclusively to the sun, and it is only in Saurashtra that temples to this orb abound¹; so that religion and tradition, as regards their descent and personal appearance, all indicate an Indo-Scythic origin for this race, and in order to conceal their barbarian (mlecha) extraction, the fable of their birth from Rama may have been devised. The city of Balabhi, written Wulleh in the maps, now an inconsiderable village, was said to be 12 kos, or 15 miles, in circumference. From its foundations gigantic bricks, from one and a half to two feet in length, are still dug." [Ibid. 148.]

14. "We shall at once commence our extracts from the Komar-Pal Charitra, which will introduce the change of dynasty and capital, when the Chaura, or Saura, succeeded to the Balla, and transferred the Gádi from Balabhi to Anhulwarra [now Veerawell Puttun]. (The above work was written between A.D. 1143 and 1166). Anhulwara was founded in S. 802, A.D. 746." [Ib. 149, 152.]

15. S. 1064, Mahmood² placed one of the ancient rajahs on the throne of Anhulwara,—probably Balabhi Sen. [Ib. 169.]

16. Anhulwara was destroyed in A.D. 1298 by Alla-u-din; it is said to have been founded by Bunsraj, or Vansrāja, son of the king of Guzerat, whose capital had been sacked, and all killed but his mother, who fled to a forest, and bore him there. It is stated Vansraj was the posthumous son of Jusraj Chaora, Prince of Saurashtra, whose capital cities were Deobunder [the port of Deo or Déva, called Diu by the Portuguese] and Puttun Somnath; that, in consequence of the piracies of the Chaora princes, the sea rose, and overwhelmed the former city, in which catastrophe all were involved, save Soonderupa, the mother of Vansraj, who was forewarned of the danger by Varuna, the genius of the waters. The infant, in gratitude to a Jain priest (called Sailug Soor Acharya), became a Jain. At this epoch, also, Bappa (called likewise Bulla) Rawul, whose ancestors fled from Balabhi, obtained Cheetore. This is the time of the introduction of Islamism in India, and it was probably then that the Cattis crossed the Runn in their passage from Mooltan, and established themselves in the region of the Sauras—(it is not unlikely that the term Chaora is a mere corruption of Saura; the same princes of Deo and Somnath

¹ There is one at Baroda and one at Benares, I believe.

*

² Mahmud of Ghuzni invaded India in A.D. 1008.

probably gave the name to the peninsula of Guzerat)—where their influence became so predominant that the name of Catti-war superseded the ancient appellation of Saurashtra. [Ib. 152-4-5.]

17. "The Chaora princes of Deva Puttun were probably subordinate to Balabhi." [Ib. 156.]

18. "The title Balhara was derived from Ballâ-câ-râe, whose ancient capital was Balabhipoor, on whose site Ptolemy has placed a Byzantium." [Ib. 160.]

19. "The kingdom of Kasehbin must be Kutch Bhooj, and we might suppose that the small and poor kingdom of Hitrunj was the chieftainship of Sutringa Palit'hana, still famous." [Ib. 162.]

20. An inscription was found among the ruins of Mynal, which appeals to "the gates of Balabhi" as a testimony of the greatness of the princes of Mewar, themselves the ancient Baharaes. [Ib. 269.]

21. "On the destruction of this city (Balabhipoor), "where the bells of eighty-four Jain temples summoned the votaries to prayer," in the fifth century, by an irruption of the Parthians, Getes, Huns, or Catti, or a mixture of all these tribes, this branch fled eastward, eventually obtaining Cheetore, when the island of Deo and Somnath-Puttun, in the division termed Larica, became the seat of government. On its destruction, in the middle of the eighth century, Anhulwara became the metropolis, and this, as recorded, endured until the fourteenth century, when the title of Bal-ca-rae became extinct." [Ib. 213.]

I transcribe the following legend from the Hindoo work entitled the Shrawuk Pooshtook, called "Noomum pall sid-siant," a sort of history of the famous Nuggur Parkur goddess. Parisnath, translated by Captain McMurdo, as conveying the only hint, though an erroneous one, as to the means of the entombment of the ancient Balabhipura; for I have not the slightest doubt that, under the name of Wullee Puttun, this city is indicated, though Captain McMurdo had no suspicion of its *locale* at the time of writing it.

"About 2500 years from the first promulgation of the Parisnath worship, Heerna Chharge Jutta, a follower of Parsan, resided in Puran Puttun (Varuvel Puttun), the rajah of which place he had converted to the Shrawuk religion, and they determined to set up a certain number of deities. A native of Socegaam, named Govindass, brought before them the image of Parisnath, and prevailed on them to worship it. On his way home to Socegaam, and whilst in the act of praying to the image, a koolee, incited to plunder, came behind and murdered him. This koolee was afterwards slain by a rajpoot, who delivered the image of the goddess to the sons of Govindass, who resided at a town called

Wullee Puttun, a city forty kos distant from Puran Puttun. Some years after, this city was deserted, and buried in the sands of the desert."

I have divided the extracts from Colonel Todd's works into paragraphs, for the convenience of reference in making notes on them.

Par. 2.—There is a very dubious meaning attached to the word *when* in the following sentence, which I translate as meaning *at the time when*:—"Balabhi, the ancient capital of the princes of Mewar *when* driven from the land by the Indo-Getic invaders." It may either be read in my way, or as meaning *after* they were driven out, though the first is probably the correct reading. It is also much to be regretted that Colonel Todd does not give the authority from which he learnt that "Balabhi was 18 kos (22 miles) in circumference," and in which "the bells of 360 Jain temples rang the votaries to prayers;" for in par. 13 he says "that it was 12 kos (or 15 miles) in circumference," and for this measurement he again omits his authority. And in Par. 21 he has the following contradiction to Par. 2, "where the bells of 84 temples summoned the votaries to prayer;" but leaves us quite in the dark as to whence he derives his information, though it was probably from the Mynal inscription that this last number was obtained. It is also a great pity that he should have been contented with the thákur's information, that "not a vestige of its greatness" remained; for in all probability much information would have been obtained by the inspection of these ruins by a man so well qualified for such investigations

In this paragraph we read that the prince of Balabhi was expelled by Sid Raj, for his oppression of the sacerdotal tribe. Is there not some faint connection in this with the legend of the Brahman who was refused lodging, &c.? It may be remarked as a very curious circumstance that he states this city as remaining in the possession of the priests till the Gohils obtained possession of it three centuries ago. Now it seems quite impossible that a great and famous city like this could have been buried in the earth by some great movement of nature, and all traces of its whereabouts have disappeared until very lately; and I think the remarks must be taken as applying to the town of Wullee, which now represents it.

Par. 3.—Here we are at a loss for the authority that the northern invaders "polluted the fountain of the sun with the blood of the kine," for the legend of Saptaswa, from which we may suppose it was derived, only states [Par. 11] that the sacred fount was polluted with blood.

Par. 5.—Instead of Balabhi, 10 miles north-west of Bhownuggur, it

should be written Wullay, the inhabitants of which call the ruins Vamīlapura.

Par. 7.—Colonel Todd states that the records preserved by the Jains (I suppose at Palithana) give s.b. 205 as the date of the sack of Balabhi, which, if it means the Balabhi Samvat, equals A.D. 524; but if, as it is more likely, it mean the Samvat of Vikrama, it would be equal to 149 of our era; and both of these dates are at variance with that (A.D. 244) given in Par. 3.

Par. 9.—In a note at page 217, vol. i., *Annals of Rajasthan*, Gajni, or Cambay, is assumed as the port of Balabhipura. Now the great distance between the two places would naturally lead to doubt on this subject, even were it not that we have evidence in the existing remains of a once fine pier, built of granite, leading to the Bandar or Karri, as mentioned in my description of the place, strengthened as it is by a legend to that effect.

Par. 10.—The latter part of this paragraph will indeed be verified, if what I have described as an enormous lingam should hereafter actually prove to be so.

Par. 16.—In this “the sea arose” we have some support to the theory of the entombment of Balabhi, which I had advanced many years before I had perused or knew that anything had been written regarding the ancient city which had attracted my attention. It is probable that such a rising of the sea, as is here alleged to have engulfed Puttun Somnath, was the same as that which overwhelmed Balabhi.

Inscription, in the Devanagari character, discovered in January 1822, in Puttun Somnath, on the coast of the Saurashtra peninsula, fixing the era of the sovereigns of Balabhi, the “Balhara kings of Nehr-walle” [*Annals of Rajasthan*, vol. i. 801.]

“Adoration to the Lord of all! to the light of the universe (1)! Adoration to the form indescribable!—him at whose feet all kneel! In the year of Mohamed 662, and in that of Vicrama 1320, and that of Srimad Balabhi 945, and the Siva Singa Samvat (2) 151, Sunday the 13th (badi) of the month Asar:

“The chiefs of Anhulpoor Patun, obeyed by numerous princes [here a string of titles], Bhataric Srimad Arjuna Deva (3), of Chaulue race, his minister Sri Maldeva, with all the officers of government, together with Hormuz of Belacool, of the government of Amcer Rookn-oo-din and of Khwaja Ibrahim of Hormuz, son of the Admiral¹

¹ A Mussulman Admiral, or Nakhoda, was employed by the princes of Anhulwana.

(nakhoda) Noor-oo-din Feeroz, together with the Chaura chieftains, Palook deva, Ranik Sri Someswa deva, Ram deva, Bheemsing, and all the Chauras and other tribes of rank being assembled—Nansi Raja, of the Chaura race, inhabiting Deo Puttun (5), assembling all the merchants, established ordinances for the repairs and support of the temples, in order that flowers, oil, and water should be regularly supplied to Rutna, Iswara (6), Choul Iswara (7), and the shrine of Pálinda Deví (8), and the rest, and for the purpose of erecting a wall round the temple of Somnath, with a gateway to the north. Keelndeo, son of Modula, and Loonsi, son of Johan, both of the Chaura race, together with the two merchants, Balji and Kurna, bestowed the weekly profits of the market for this purpose. While sun and moon endure, let it not be resumed. Feeroz is commanded to see this order obeyed, and that the customary offerings on festivals are continued, and that all surplus offerings, and gifts, be placed in the treasury for the purposes aforementioned. The Chaura chiefs present and the Admiral Noor-oo-din are commanded to see these orders executed on all classes. Heaven will be the lot of the obedient—hell to the breaker of this ordinance."

NOTES.

(1). "The invocation, which was long, has been omitted by me; but this is sufficient to show that Balnath, the deity worshipped in Puttun Somnath, "the city of the Lord of the Moon," was the sun-god Bál; hence the title of the dynasties, which ruled this region, Bal-ca-rao, "the Princes of Bál;" and hence the capital Balicapoor, "the City of the Sun," familiarly written Balabhi, whose ruins, as well as this inscription, rewarded a long journey. The Rana's ancestors, the Suryas or sun-worshippers, gave their name to the peninsula Saurashtra, or Syria; and the dynasties of Chaura and Chanluc, or Solanki, who succeeded them, on their expulsion by the Parthians, retained the title of Balicaræ, corrupted by Renaudot's Arabian travellers into Balhara."

(2). "The importance of the discovery of these new eras has already been descanted on in the annals: s. 1320—945, the date of this inscription = 375 of Vikrama, for the first of the Balabhi era; and 1320—151 gives s. 1169 for the establishment of the Seva Singa era, established by the Gohils of the island of Deo, of whom I have another memorial dated 927 Balabhi Samvat—the Gohils, Chauras, and Gehlotes are all one stock."

"(3). "Arjuna Deva, Chaluc, was prince of Anhulpoor or Anhul-

wara, founded by Vanraj Chaura, in s. 802 ; henceforth the capital of the Balicaracs, after the destruction of Balabhi."

(4). "This evinces that Anhulwara was still the emporium of commerce, which the travellers of Renaudot and Edrisi describe."

(5). "From this it is evident that the island of Deo was a dependent fief of Anhulwara."

(6). "The great temple of Somnath."¹

(7). "The tutelary divinity of the Chauluc race."

(8). "The goddess of the Bhil tribes."

¹ The sandal-wood gate of which, taken away to Ghuzni by Mahmud, was brought back from that place in such great state by Lord Ellenborough.

ART. IX.—*Some Additional Remarks upon the Ancient City of Anurájapura or Anurádhapura, and the Hill Temple of Mehentélé, in the island of Ceylon.* By CAPTAIN I. J. CHAPMAN, F.R.S., of the Royal Artillery, &c. &c.

[Read 15th February 1851.]

ON presenting to the Society the accompanying plan of some of the ruins of Anurádhapura, in the island of Ceylon, made by Major Skinner, the Surveyor-general of the island, to whose kindness I am indebted for it, I avail myself of the assistance of my friend Captain Gascoyne, to add to the observations which are contained in a former paper, entitled, “Some remarks upon the ancient city of Anurádhapura,¹ and the Hill Temple of Mehentélé, in the island of Ceylon,” which the Society did me the honour to insert in the third volume of its Transactions

In that paper, I have stated that the remains of the still sacred and once very extensive city are situated in 8° 15' north latitude, and 80° 35' east longitude, and that it was known to the geographer Ptolemy, under the name of Anurogramm Regia. It lies amidst vast and thickly-wooded plains, which are intersected, about eight miles to the eastward of the city, by a range of hills of considerable altitude, running nearly north and south, and commencing with the rock Mehentélé, on which a Hill Temple is strikingly situated.

The first mention made of Anurádhha, afterwards Anurádhapura, is at the opening of the history of Ceylon, in the time of Wijayo, the founder of the dynasty of that name: it was then only a village, which received its name from one of his followers, Anurádhha.

According to the Maháwanso (the chief historical record of the island) Wijayo landed in Ceylon from the continent of India in the same year that Gautama, the fourth and present Supreme Buddha died, which event took place in the year 543 before the Christian era.²

Anurádhha was made a capital city by King Pandukábhayo, who ascended the throne in the year u.c. 437, and it became a sacred city

¹ Since the publication of that paper the orthography has been fixed as Anurádhapura, which I have consequently adopted.

² This synchronical date is taken from the revised chronological table of the sovereigns of Ceylon, in Turnour's Maháwanso; Appendix, p. lx, and is supported by many coincidences:

in B.C. 307, in consequence of the fulfilment of a prophecy "that a branch of the Bo-tree under which Gautama had become a Buddha, should be miraculously transplanted thither." This event is said to have taken place in the first year of the reign of King Déwánanpiyatisso, the introducer into the island of the present system of Buddhism.

The city walls, of which some traces are still to be seen, are stated to have extended sixteen leagues, or sixty-four miles, in circumference.

A sacred district surrounded the city, of which the limits have not been ascertained; but that it was very extensive, is shown by the following incident. The coolies who accompanied our party to Anurádhapura in 1829, when we arrived at a certain point in our journey, applied to be allowed a double ration of arrack, because they said on the morrow they should enter the "Sacred District," within which they could not taste spirits. We were then full twenty miles from the Bo-Malloa or sacred tree of the city.

Anurádhapura was abandoned permanently as a capital for Polonnaruwa in A.D. 796. It was thus a capital, with a few short intervals, for upwards of twelve hundred years, and is considered, up to the present day, the sacred spot where the Bo-tree, miraculously brought there in B.C. 307, still flourishes, "always green, never growing nor decaying."

Around this venerated site, and within about the extent of two miles square, as comprised within Major Skinner's map, the following objects of interest are to be found :—

1. The Maháwihára, or enclosure of the sacred tree.
2. Seven Dágobas or dome-shaped elevations of bricks, now in decay.
3. The Lōwa Mahá or square of 1600 pillars, 40 on each front.
4. The tomb of Ellala, a Malabar usurper.
5. The statue of a recumbent bull, in front of the Maháwihára, nine feet in length, and turning horizontally on a pivot.
6. A single granite pillar near the bull.
7. Ruins of the principal palaces to the north of Lanká Ráma.
8. A plain trough of granite 63ft. long, 3ft. 6in. in width, and 2ft. 10in. in depth.
9. A rectangular vase of granite 10ft. in length, 2ft. in breadth, and 6ft. in depth.

There are, moreover, other groups of pillars scattered over several miles; and at the distance of six miles, six furlongs to the westward

of the Maháwihára are the ruins of a palace, which ~~cross~~ the foundations of the city walls, and give evidence of their extent.

I shall now proceed to make some remarks on those objects which appear most important.

1.—THE MAHÁWIHÁRA. (*Vide Plan. A.*)

This consists of two distinct enclosures, the outer one of which is formed by a rectangular wall about 10 feet high, its longest side being about 316 feet, and the shortest 240.¹ From the centre of the north side a kind of court projects about 60 feet; and at the two extremities of this court are low buildings which constitute the entrance. Both these buildings have low flights of steps, which raise their floors about four feet. On the ground before them are some remarkable sculptures, of which drawings are inserted in Vol. III. of the Transactions.

The inner, or the enclosure of the sacred tree, is also rectangular, consisting of four receding walled terraces rising one out of the other, each superior one being of inferior elevation and depth to that below it. The total height of these terraces is seven cubits, or about sixteen feet, the ascent to the summit is by two flights of steps, the lower and upper one being on different faces: the passage between the two is formed by one of the terraces; the space included within the walls is artificially filled in to the summit-level, except in the centre, which is enclosed by a third wall surrounding a hollow space, and in the centre of this hollow enclosure stands the Bo-Malloa. (*Vide Plan. A.*)

To this important tree the Buddhists of Ceylon attach the deepest interest; and the manner of its miraculous self-severance from the parent tree in India,² and subsequent transportation to Anurádhapura are given in the Maháwanso in too great detail to be more than alluded to here.

In the year 1829, it consisted of five principal branches, none of which appeared to exceed the body of a man in thickness. Three or four smaller branches grew out of the terraces at different points, and seemed to be held in equal reverence with the sacred tree.

The Bo-Malloa is generally believed to be the *Ficus religiosa* of botanists; but Fa Hian, a Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, who visited Anurádhapura between the years A.D. 399 and 413, speaks of it as

¹ I had not time during my visit, to make these measurements myself, and there is considerable difference from those given by others, but I have given a mean, derived, however, from independent though not very precise data.

² In my former memoir, the tree is erroneously said to have come from Siam.

"letting down roots from its branches," which is one of the distinctive peculiarities of the *Ficus indica*; and as such it is spoken of in the Nipālese records.

From the appearance of the tree in 1829, when it was much debilitated by an unusual drought, I should not have supposed it to be either of those species; but not feeling myself to be a competent judge, I adopted the precise words of a military friend, who had passed the greater part of his life in various expeditions in the East.¹

Subsequent researches have brought to my notice, that each of the Buddhas who preceded Gautama had a peculiar tree sacred to him, the genus and species of which is in every instance determined from the native nomenclature,² and several distinct forms of some of them are found on coins.³ Under these circumstances there is cause for uncertainty, particularly when it is borne in mind that a change in the plant may have been convenient to satisfy the prophetic characteristics of being "always green, never growing, nor decaying."

It is very probable that some confusion has arisen from the smaller trees, mentioned above, being of different species, and that the opinion of Mr. Cameron, one of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry, who made a drawing of the tree in 1830, and considered it to be the *Ficus religiosa*, will, on careful examination, prove the right one.

THE DĀGOBAS. (*Vide Plan.*)

At nearly half a mile to the N.E. of the Mahāwihāra, are the ruins of Sailya Chaitya, a small but apparently very sacred dāgoba. It was noticed in 1829, under the erroneous name of Thūpa Rāma, as the most ancient; consisting solely of a mound of earth surrounded by jungle, and having two or three steps and a few fragments of granitic pillars lying near it. It is the Sila Chaitya of the Mahāwanso, and lays claim to having been visited by the third of the four principal Buddhas.⁴

The Dāgoba Thūpa Rāma is situated at the distance of three-quarters of a mile nearly due north of the Mahāwihāra. It is said to have been erected in the first year of Dēwānaupiyatisso, (a.c. 307).⁵ It covers the right shoulder of Buddha, which "descending from the skies placed itself upon the crown of the monarch's head." The

¹ See Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iii. p. 487.

² Turnour's Mahāwanso, Introduction, p. xxviii.

³ Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iii. p. 487.

⁴ Mahāwanso, p. 13.

dome or *dágoba* stands in the middle of a square platform, and according to the section in the tracing, the original form of this building was that of a bell.¹

The edge of the platform is raised about nine feet from the ground, and it has slightly elevated towards the centre: the height of the *dágoba*, as stated on the spot, was twenty-five cubits, or forty-nine feet. This *dágoba* is surrounded by three concentric rows of pillars placed on the platform and radiating from the centre, the inner circle being about two feet from the *dágoba*, and the others ten feet from each other. Of these pillars, one hundred and forty-nine were standing at the time of my visit; some of them broken and others without capitals. The original number would appear to have been one hundred and sixty-eight, or twice eighty four, a number which enters into the whole scheme of the Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain religious cosmogony, rituals, and legendary tales.² The proportions of these pillars are particularly slight. Their total height is about 26 feet, of which 23 feet 6 inches are due to the column or shaft composed of a single piece of granite, the first nine feet from the ground forming a kind of base, of which the transverse section would be a square of twelve inches. The remaining 14ft. 6in. of the shaft form an irregular octagonal figure, formed by cutting off the corners of the square base, and thus giving four larger alternate faces of eight inches wide, and four intermediate smaller ones of between two and three. The capital, which is octagonal, and 2ft. 6in. in height, slopes upwards and outwards from its junction with the shaft, so that the upper surface extends laterally much beyond it; it is surmounted by a knob. The sloping faces are divided into three portions, one of which is sculptured with grotesque human figures, such as are found on the mouldings of the pillars at Ajunta, as well as in the drawing of the Esoteric Buddha of the Nipálese, as given by Mr. Hōdgson.³ It appears plain that these pillars were not intended to bear any weight.

Marichawatti, or Mirisiwettiya, is situated to the westward of the Maháwihára, and was erected in the 161st year before the Christian era, by King Dutthagámini. The dome is raised in the centre of a paved square nearly on a level with the adjacent ground. It is much in decay, and appears like a mound of earth covered with coarse grass.

¹ This form exists on the tombs of the kings and queens of Kandy. See plate 21, vol. iii., Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society.

² Supplemental Glossary, N.W. Provinces, by Elliot; word "Chourasse."

³ See Fergusson's Rock-cut Temples, Vihára, No. 16; and Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. ii. plate 1.

There were two erect sculptured slabs of grotesque human figures in front of this building. Its height is not given in the tracing, but would appear to be ninety feet, or forty cubits.

Ruanwelli lies nearly due north of the Maháwihára. It is considered the most important of the dagobas, having the honorific term *Sri* or *Sai* prefixed to its name. It was begun by Dutthagámini, the same king who constructed the last-mentioned, and completed by his brother, Saddhatisso, who commenced his reign B.C. 137. Its erection is said in the Maháwanso to have been foretold. Its dome was modelled from the form of a bubble of water resting on a liquid surface. Many marvellous circumstances connected with its erection are found in the Maháwanso.¹

This dagoba is situated in the centre of a square beautifully paved with granite: the square is on a level with the adjacent ground, and is surrounded by a sunk ditch seventy-two feet wide, and twelve deep, both the paved square and the ditch are however more recent additions. On the inner wall of the ditch, the fore-quarters of elephants are sculptured, so as to give the appearance of supporting this stupendous mass. The height of this edifice, as predicted, was to be 120 cubits or 270 feet; its actual height is 189 feet. It appears that it was constructed on a bad foundation, and its form is much altered and overgrown with vegetation, but it is still very imposing.²

Abhaya Giri is situated to the north-east of the Maháwihára, and was erected during the reign of King Walagambáhu or Wattagámini Abhaya, which commenced B.C. 104. It is said in the Maháwanso,³ to have been built on the site of a heathen temple, which was under the influence of a priest called Giri; the two names were therefore united as a memento of the triumph of the true faith under Abhaya. This dagoba stands on a paved square, which is raised about five feet above the adjacent ground-level, and by the tracing appears to have been hemispherical and equal in diameter with that of Ruanwelli, with which supposition its traditionary height (120 cubits) accords; and it is still only deficient from this by 16 feet, its actual height being 244. Although overgrown with shrubs, it retains not only much of its original shape, but a part of its spire.

Lanká-rámo is situated to the north-west of the Maháwihára. It was erected by King Abha Sen or Tisso, whose reign commenced A.D.

¹ Chapter xxvii. to xxxiii.

² When at Anurádhapura, a work said to contain the details of the building of Ruanwelli Sai, was procured for me by the Modéhar. On my return to England it was presented to the Society, in whose possession I presume it remains.

³ Pages 203—5.

231. In 1829 it was in excellent preservation, having been repaired within the last century. The *dágoba* was then coated with *chunam*, a most excellent kind of white cement, which has a resemblance to marble, and the pillars on the raised platform which sustains the dome, had generally retained their places. The whole suggested how magnificent the others must have been in the days of their glory.

Jetawanna-ráma is situated nearly due north of the Maháwihára, distant about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile. It was commenced by King Mahá Seno and finished by his brother. The date assigned is A.D. 330. The traditional account of its height gives 120 cubits. Its actual height is 249 feet, which calculating the 120 cubits as equal to 260 feet, leaves only a difference of 11 feet to complete the spire, which has lost part of its height. The *dágoba* is situated in the centre of a square raised about five feet, and beautifully paved with granite. Some idea of the massiveness of these structures may be formed from the following computations made by Major Forbes, and inserted in his work on Ceylon. "The cubical contents," he says, "of Jetawanna-ráma were calculated to be 456·070 cubic yards. And a brick wall 12 feet in height, 2 feet in thickness, and upwards of 97 miles in length, might be constructed with the remaining materials."

Having thus made the round of all the *dágobas* found in Major Skinner's plan, I shall now mention a few other antiquities interspersed among them. The first is—

The Lowá-mahá-páya, or Square of 1600 pillars (40 on each face), which are situated near the entrance to the Maháwihára. They were erected by Dutthagámini in B.C. 163, and are of the same character as those at the pagodas of Rámeswaram, and of Madura and Sirangam, on the adjacent continent.

The tomb of Ellala, a Malabar usurper who held the throne for many years, but was at last slain in battle by the hand of Dutthagámini, the legitimate sovereign, in commemoration of which this *dágoba* was erected B.C. 160. This edifice, however, I did not visit, the natives having some unaccountable objection to show it, as is stated on the map by Major Skinner.

THE SEMICIRCULAR SLAB.

Within the court which forms the entrance to the Maháwihára, and close to the inner approach, there was a very remarkable semicircular sculptured slab of hard blue granite which I have noticed in my former communication, but to which I am here induced to call further attention.

The sculptured representations were as follows:—

1. In the centre, are several groups of dots arranged by threes, so that each three would form the points of an equilateral triangle: of these, I believe, there were five.
 2. Three bands representing the flower of the lotus, (*Nelumbium*) in its different stages of bud, half-blown, and full-blown.
 3. The flower or the seed of the lotus, on a stem most gracefully curved.
 4. The Hansa, or Sacred Goose, bearing the seed of the lotus in its bill.
 5. A graceful leaf.
- The whole of these patterns are repeated ten times, and the Hansas are divided into two fives, the five of each division fronting the other, and facing the central point of the semicircle.¹
6. A broad band representing an elephant, a horse, a lion, and a cow, repeated, and facing to the centre.
 7. A long and broad leaf.

The intimate connection of these symbols with Buddhistical religious opinions, and the wide diffusion of those opinions, will be strikingly evinced by comparing the figures just described (No. 6) with those represented in Mr. Hodgson's Sketch of Nípál, published in the second volume of the Society's Transactions. Mr. Hodgson's plate represents seven Buddhas, each seated on a kind of pedestal or throne. Six of these pedestals are decorated with different emblematical supporters, out of which five are identical with the figures sculptured on the slab; the lotus ornament being also found on the mouldings of two of the pedestals, in its half-blown and full-blown state. Nor is the analogy to be altogether passed over which suggests itself between the four figures, the elephant, lion, horse, and cow, and those emblematical of the legendary mouths of the four great rivers, which, issuing from the great lake Anótatthó, run through Jambudwípa, and naturally call to mind the four great rivers of the Mosaic record.

This lake, with its sacred attributes, is even alluded to in the Maháwanso and other Buddhistical records of Ceylon, and a description of it and of the four holes or adits, characterized by the four animals, is found in the Rájávali.²

Passing from Anurádhapura, eastward, we come to the hill temple

¹ In the engraving of this slab in my former paper, the figures are erroneously all placed facing to the right.

² Upham's Translation, p. 143.

of Mehentale. The hill rises gradually from the north for about three-fourths of its total height, when a flat space occurs, nearly surrounded by rocks, from whence the ascent (which continues) to the summit, where it terminates to the south, as an abrupt and nearly perpendicular descent to the plain. The flat area just mentioned was planted with coconut and banana trees, which gave shade to several small dagobas erected between them. In the centre was one dagoba of larger dimensions, in good repair, and about 27 feet in diameter.¹ It was surrounded by a concentric wall, within which were fifty-two granite pillars of rude workmanship, they were 12 feet in height, of octagonal shape, and surmounted by capitals similar to those I have already described at the Tūpā-rāma at Anurādhapura; but the ornament sculptured upon some of the capitals was the Hansa. To the westward the space was filled by a large dagoba, placed on a higher elevation, and said to be built over a hair which grew out of Buddha's forehead, above the left eye. (See Plate, Mehentale.) The dagoba, which is 40 cubits, or 90 feet in height,² is said to stand 1026 feet above the mountain base. It is approached from the flat space, first by an inclined plane of considerable extent, and then by flights of steps, 200 in number. On the eastern side of the area are the dwellings of the priests, above which the bare granite rock rises abruptly, and passing round to the south, forms a barrier to the precipitous declination of the hill on that side.

The object and the view from it were alike imposing, and did not require the associations of country or religious feeling to produce a strong impression on the mind, whilst looking down upon those stupendous monuments in the plain, which, in the morning, had towered like giants above our heads.

On the flat space at the foot of the larger dagoba, Mahindo, the son of Asoka, emperor of India, is said to have alighted from his miraculous passage through the air, when he came as the missioner to convert the people of Lanka to the religion of Buddha. On that spot he principally resided, and there he died, or, as the Sinhalese express it, attained Paribbajakam, or the relinquishment of worldly cares. It does not appear, however, that he was buried here, as he was embalmed,³ and deposited with great solemnity in a stupa, at Anurādhapura.

It was he who caused the golden hair from the forehead of Buddha

¹ See Plate 26, Transcription, p. 172.

² Rajavali, Upham's Transcription, p. 172.

³ Turnour's Mahawamsa, 125.

it is a golden dagoba, the large one just described was built over that under the joint auspices of himself and King Dēwānanpiyatisso.

This completes the monuments of interest which are found in the vicinity of the sacred tree; but it will not be out of place here to add a short notice of some other localities in Ceylon which are associated by historical and religious ties with Buddhism.

The first of these is Sumana Kúta, or the mountain called Adam's Peak.¹ On its summit is an elliptic area, about 70 feet in length and 30 in width, out of which rises a rock, about 9 feet high, bearing upon its upper surface an indented mark or impression, and which, by the aid of mortar, is made to show a rude resemblance to a colossal human foot. Over the impression is a frame-work, which, to resist the force of the wind, is attached by chains to the rock. The whole area is surrounded by a wall about 5 feet high, and within it are found a temple of wood and a mud pansola, or dwelling for the priest, six feet square. Two bells, one large and one small, complete the catalogue of valuables in this sanctuary, which is situated in 80° 50' E. long., and 6° 35' N. lat., and stands at an altitude of 7420 feet above the sea.

It is celebrated as having been visited by the four supreme Buddhas, and is still a place of pilgrimage from all parts of India.

The Mahiyangano, or Emerald Dagoba, in the eastern district of Bintenne, long. 81° 10' E., lat. 7° 20' N., is built over the spot where Gautama arrived nine months after he had become Buddha. On this spot the Yakkha converts are said to have erected an emerald dagoba over the pure blue locks of Gautama's head, which he had cut off for them. After his death, the Gíwatthi, or bone of the thorax, was added, and a dagoba of 12 cubits was constructed, which was enclosed in another of 30 cubits; and lastly one of 80 cubits was built over the whole by the king Dutthagámini, 161 years before Christ.

Kallány, Kalyáni, or Kallánia Dagoba, which marks the place at which Gautama landed on his second visit to the island, is situated on the Kalány river, six miles from Colombo. It is about 60 feet in height, and is kept in good preservation.

And lastly I should mention one peculiar relic, called the Dáthá or Dhátu; it is the right canine tooth of Buddha, brought to Ceylon from Dantapura, A.D. 310, and ultimately transferred to Kandy, where it rests, under British guardianship, in the Duláda temple, as upon the possession of this relic the sovereignty over Kandy is considered by the natives to depend.

Of this there is a drawing by Capt. Weller, Royal Artillery.

Some further notice of the contents of these dagobas appears to be necessary.

The less important but numerous dagobas are stated to have been built over relics of Buddha. One of these was opened at Cotta, within five miles of Colombo, which is thus described :¹—

In the middle of the ruined dagoba a small square compartment was discovered. It was lined with brick, paved with coral, and divided by a band, in form of a cross, into four spaces. In the centre of this cross was a small cylindrical vase of grey granite, which was covered completely by a rounded cap, also of granite. In the vase were small fragments of bone, pieces of thin gold (in which the relic was probably enveloped), some small gold rings, two or three pearls (which retained their lustre), beads of rock-crystal and cornelian, small fragments of ruby, blue sapphire, and zircon, and some pieces of glass, in the shape of icicles, which were crystalline and opaque. On the right extremity of the cross was a four-sided prism of plaster. On the extremity below the centre was a common lamp. Within each of the four spaces were heads of the cobra di capello, in plaster also; and on the left upper corner was something resembling the King of chessmen, but not further described.

Several minnte dagobas in plaster were also found, they were about an inch and a half in height and in diameter. A flat piece of plaster covered the bottom, and concealed or contained an inscription, which was most probably the name of the king by whom the dagoba was built.

The early, large, and more important dagobas are stated to have been built over more considerable relics, as previously mentioned; but Ruanwelli Sai appears to have enjoyed a pre-eminence. When King Bhátiyo was admitted, he saw therein figures which represented the 550 remarkable events in the reign of Dutthagámini, by whom the dagoba was commenced; also images or figures of all the gods by whom Buddha was entreated to be born into the world; and also emblems of the five things which he then took into consideration, viz. "a fit time—a people fit to receive him into the world—fit parents to be descended from—and a fit country to be born in." Likewise he saw figures of Buddha in all the stages of embryo, till he proceeded from the womb of the Queen Maha Maya; likewise when he became a king, when he became a priest, when he preached his first sermon, whilst performing the actions of Buddha during forty-five years,

¹ Dary's Ceylon, p. 225, note (condensed).

² There are only four things stated.

when departing from the world, and finally of the great Brahman and sage (sramana) who was sent to make a just division of the bones of Buddha among the gods and kings of the earth. All these figures were of pure gold, and 5 cubits in height. In addition, King Bhátiyo saw a representation of the Bo-tree, in silver, 18 cubits in height, under which was a throne, worth a million pieces of gold, on which sat the figure of Buddha, of pure gold, and 12 cubits in height. Moreover he saw another figure of Buddha, made of gold, and 12 cubits in length, and lying upon a bed of silver, representing the state in which he will be found at the end of his reign, having fallen into oblivion (nirwána). It was lighted by four lamps, prepared to burn 5000 years, even until the end of the reign of Buddha.

"Having seen all these things, King Bhátiyo was very glad."¹

From this it may be inferred that there is a considerable space in the interior of Ruanwelli-Sai, and that the figures, images, or representations, were seen by King Bhátiyo, who ascended the throne A.B. 524, or B.C. 19 years.² It also may be inferred that a passage of communication was known to the priests, and existed at that period. During the intervening period of upwards of eighteen centuries this dagoba, as well as the surrounding ones, has undergone great vicissitudes, having been plundered and defaced by the Malabar invaders at one moment, and repaired at others by the followers of Buddha. There is, therefore, little chance of any of these curiosities remaining at the present period; and as this still highly-revered spot thus affords little or no temptation to the antiquarian, it is hoped that the feelings of the natives may not be wounded by disturbing this venerable structure.

INSCRIPTION AT MEHENTÉLÉ.

In my former paper (Transactions, vol. iii. p. 487), I mentioned that during my visit to the hill of Mehentélé, copies were made of an antique inscription found on the rock, in characters which could not then be decyphered. The more recent discoveries, by the late Mr. Prinsep, of similar inscriptions on the continent of India have also thrown light upon this, and show it to be written in the character called "Láth" by Orientalists, but by the Head-man who accompanied me "Nagara."

Time and the elements had done their work upon it, and left the

¹ Raja Ratnacari—Upham, pp. 45-6-7-8 (condensed).

² Turnour's Maháwanso, Appendix, ix, Chronological Table of Sovereigns of Ceylon.

inscription incomplete and fragmentary; but the original transcription of such characters as we could make out accompanies this paper.

The inscription comprehends two distinct parts, marked by their position on the rock and the difference of size of the letters; the smaller characters lying below the others, from which it may be presumed that they were cut more recently.

Of the nature and import of these writings their remains do not allow us to judge; but reasons drawn from other circumstances render it probable that they are only memorials of royal gifts to the neighbouring temple. They are, however, by no means devoid of interest, since they contain, in well-defined characters, the names of three of the ancient kings of Ceylon, corresponding to others given in the genealogical list prefixed to Mr. Turnour's translation of the Maháwanso, and to that extent corroborating its authenticity.

Of these names the portion of the inscription in the large character contains two—Dutthagámini Abhaya and Devánapiya-piyadasa, whilst on the other is registered, as might be expected from its position, the name of another, Amanda, who stands lower in the genealogical series.

The name Dutthagámini Abhaya commences the first inscription, and re-appears again in the same line. He reigned, according to Mr. Turnour, from the year 161 to 137 before Christ. He is said to have restored the Buddhist religion, which he found on his accession in a very depressed state; and his reign forms a very distinguished portion of the early history of Ceylon. He was the great grandson of Devánapiya-piyadasi, whose name appears in the fourth line of the same inscription, and by whom, in the first year of his reign (B.C. 307), that religion was introduced into the island. It has been already shown that he was the patron of Mahindo, the first missionary teacher of that faith, and that the construction of the great temple on the Meheniclé hill was his work conjointly with Mahindo; and if this inscription should be considered as recording some deed of gift to that temple by the later sovereign Dutthagámini, it would very naturally contain some allusions to the earlier endowments of his pious ancestor.

Amanda, the king to whom the second or small inscription refers, and whose name commences the inscription, was a lineal descendant of the two former. He ascended the throne A.D. 21, and was put to death after a reign of five years, not marked by any historical events.

In the letters of the name of Devánapiya.....dasa rája, as transcribed from the rock, there occurs a blank, which we may fairly conjecture to have been occupied by the word "piya," completing the name "Devánapiya-piyadasa rája."

I shall venture one concluding remark. Professor H. H. Wilson, the learned Director of this Society, in his paper on the Rock Inscriptions, published in the 12th volume of the Journal, has shown that the King Asoka could not have been the contemporary of Antiochus the Great, whilst the Piyadasa of the inscriptions was so, or even posterior to him; he also shows that "the term Piyadasa was applied to more than one person, and not the proper designation of one individual in particular."

Now the Piyadassi of the Cingalese records is invariably found associated with Asoka as his contemporary and friend; and although the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon is attributed to his influence, no mention is made of his having promulgated any moral or religious code of his own, or of his having exercised any power or influence on the continent of India. In all these points he is distinguished from the Piyadasa of the inscriptions.

Moreover, the same chronological grounds which, in Mr. Wilson's argument, preclude the idea of the sovereign Asoka and the Piyadasa of the inscriptions being considered as the same personage, weigh with equal force against their being contemporaries.

Taking all these facts into consideration, I am of opinion that the Piyadasa of the inscriptions and the King of Ceylon are distinct individuals, belonging to different eras.

In the preceding endeavour to trace the history of the city of Anurádhapura, from its origin as a village, in the time of Wijayo, in the year 543 B.C., the year of Buddha's death, to the present day, the dagobas and religious buildings have been described with special reference to the periods of their structure, in order to indicate their importance as historical monuments; and the inscription on the rock of Mehentélé has been brought into prominent notice, in consequence of its containing the name of Dewánan-piyatissa, of Ceylon,* whose reign commenced in the year B.C. 307, the eighteenth after the accession of Dharmásoka, the great Buddhist sovereign of India, who is mentioned in the Maháwanso, treated of at length in the great work of Eugene Bournouf, and who is proved by Professor Wilson to have been a grandson of Chandragupta; and as this sovereign is stated in the Maháwanso to have succeeded to the throne of India B.C. 381, an important date is thus fixed.

The historical names which, in this fragment of a Ceylonese inscription, have been accidentally brought to light, will naturally dispose the inquirer into Indian antiquities to wish for more of these records. Some few, both in the Láth characters and in others of a different structure, have been copied from time to time; and the im-

provements now going on in the northern portion of that island, by the clearing of the woods and dense jungle with which it is generally covered, and by the opening of new tracks of communication, are constantly bringing others to notice. They are, however, I believe, for the most part as yet utterly unregarded. To call attention to these would, I think, be very desirable, and, I would humbly infer, not unworthy of the consideration of this Society. There are, I have no doubt, many intelligent persons in that country, who, upon the suggestion that these "monuments of past days" might be of historical interest, would gladly lend their aid. Nothing is wanting but a knowledge of the fact that copies of them would be acceptable to the Asiatic Society and the learned in Oriental antiquities.

The coincidence of some of the Láth characters given by the late Mr. Prinsep, in the eighth volume of the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, with those of the few inscriptions already copied from rocks in Ceylon, has induced the Author of this paper to lithograph and send out copies of Mr. Prinsep's alphabetical table for distribution in Ceylon, and he would gladly see his own humble efforts succeeded by others more influential.

ART. X.—*An Account of the Paper Currency and Banking
System of Fuhchowfoo.* By H. PARKES, ESQ.

[Read 8th January, 1848.]

AMONG the various wonderful inventions, marking the astonishing advances which the Chinese had so early made towards civilization, is that of *Paper-Money*, which dates as far back as the year 119 before our era. The cause that led to its introduction was the low state of the finances of the Government, who, after various other experiments, issued at last regular paper assignats, which, from the ponderous nature of the rude coin then in use, and the security that the warranty of government afforded, soon obtained extensive circulation. The government who had thus introduced this new currency, made it an object of much legislation; and various were the schemes that were started and remoulded, in the hope of permanently establishing its use. But the numerous intestine wars, and the repeated subversion of dynasties that followed, tended seriously to detract from the credit of the government; and thus, owing to its bad faith, and the excessive issues, a complete failure of the system was the result, after a lapse of five centuries having been spent in unsuccessful attempts to establish it. Government paper-money seems to have disappeared in the early part of the late Ming dynasty; and the Manchus, on their accession, never attempted to revive its use. To Klaproth we are indebted for very elaborate researches on this interesting and oft-discussed subject.

But the Chinese being so essentially a commercial people, it is not surprising that they should see the utility of a paper currency, and the facilities that it affords to mercantile transactions. When, therefore, they had quietly settled down under their new Tartar rulers, we find them taking up the matter among themselves, and by their quiet unostentatious way of proceeding,—their plans being projected as their wants occasioned,—there is little doubt, though the progress made be but slow, that what proved a failure with the legislature, will ultimately succeed in their hands.

But their banking is still only in a primitive state; and the various large centres of trade seem each to have originated its own system, for we find that this differs at almost every locality. A lack of uniformity must necessarily be met with in any extensive country, possessing but poor means of internal communication; and when

disposed to judge this defect harshly, we must remember that the Chinese, in their semi-civilized state, know not yet to what beneficial purposes steam may be applied; nor even appreciate the worth of a good road, which they have not yet learned how to construct.

At Fühchow, the paper currency, from its greatly extended circulation, immediately attracts attention; and the banking system pursued there with regard to it, is one of the most striking features in the trade of that place. The following particulars relating to it were learned by a course of careful inquiries made during a residence there; and though but crudely described in this paper, they may still prove of interest, as furnishing some information relative to banking in China, of which little is known, and of which that of Fühchow presents a good specimen.

The issue of paper-money at Fühchow appears to have originated, as in most other instances, amongst private individuals, notes representing sums of money payable on demand being at first merely given, taken, or interchanged between parties well known to each other, as a friendly accommodation. The great convenience of a paper medium soon led to an increased circulation of such notes; and establishments were eventually opened for the express purpose of conducting the issue of them. But, recommended only by their private credit, their transactions were naturally at first very limited; and the notes issued were accordingly but for trifling amounts. Little had been done before the commencement of the present century, when the public confidence in them becoming stronger, the issue rapidly increased; and by 1815, notes for all amounts were in general use. The circulation continued to progress; and, at the present time, has almost entirely superseded the use of bullion. Paper-money has now become the great circulating medium of Fühchow. It is adopted by everybody, high or low, to the almost entire rejection of their bulky coins, which they seldom continue to carry on their persons.

Since, however, anybody could, at liberty, assume the power of issuing paper-money, it became somewhat depreciated from excess. Banking establishments could be opened, and their notes circulated, without previously procuring any license from the government, or without having to give any security as to their power to meet their liabilities. Thus, numerous speculators crowded forward, and heedlessly involved themselves in these monetary transactions. An over-issue of notes was the natural consequence, and paper-money soon sunk considerably below par. Notwithstanding, however, the depression that followed, the system gradually and effectually worked its way; recovered itself from this temporary stagnation; and, though

still remaining entirely in private hands, seems now to have become settled on a firm, enduring basis, which speaks volumes for the dependence that is to be placed upon the public credit. There are very few notes that are now below par; and such of them as are to be found are only of small amounts.

This extensive competition may, however, be found to possess its advantages; for though instances of individual failures have occurred, a general crash, seriously affecting the public interests, is a thing unheard of. Liabilities are not vested, as with us, in one or a few establishments; but the responsibility is divided among many. For the same reason, however, their sphere of usefulness is much contracted. They are not, to any great extent, banks of deposit; and, comparatively but in a few cases, have sums of money belonging to the people in their keeping. Their liabilities are chiefly confined to converting their notes, which they issue in number according to the amount of capital they may severally be worth.

The extent of the dealings with any of these establishments is regulated by their respective private credit, which in many instances does not extend beyond the city or the department, and seldom or never beyond the confines of the province. Thus they can afford little or no assistance in facilitating the making of payments between places situated at any great distance apart; and as they neither take the money of merchants or tradesmen on deposit, nor open accounts with them for the disbursement of payments, are thus therefore wanting in two of the most important branches of banking, which, if well carried out, render it so invaluable a convenience to the public at large. They only take deposits on interest from a few merchants or private friends, and express a decided aversion towards extending these liabilities. Such deposits have to be withdrawn in the whole of the original amount, and interest is given for them at the rate of 9½ per cent. In the provinces to the north of Fuhkeen, as Chêkeang, &c. they bank on an improved and much more liberal scale. There the people open regular accounts with their bankers, who generally will make advances of money, or allow their customers to overdraw their accounts, without charging them with interest, though they, on the other hand, pay none on deposits.

The banking establishments in the city and suburbs of Fühchow, may be enumerated by *hundreds*. Most of them are naturally very insignificant, and the circulation of their notes exceedingly limited. Many of the outside notes will not pass current inside; and are only convertible at the place of issue. Such branches as these must be entirely superfluous; and might seriously inconvenience or trammel

the transactions of the higher ones; but, in order to guard against encroachment from this direction, and as a self-protective measure, several of the leading banks of known stability co-operate with each other to keep up the value of their notes; and thus, by holding a strong check on the issues of these minor parties, effectually continue to regulate the whole system. There are thirty of these establishments inside and outside the city, all reported to be possessed of capital to the amount of five hundred thousand to upwards of a million dollars.

These latter establishments command the utmost confidence, and their notes pass current everywhere, and with everybody. They contribute mutual support by constantly exchanging, and continually cashing each others' notes, which they severally seem to value as highly as their own particular issues. This reciprocal and implicit trust must add greatly to their solidity, and tend to prevent the possibility of failure. The chief banker gained his high reputation by a voluntary subscription, about thirty years ago, of no less than 100,000 dollars to the Government toward the repairs of the city walls and other public works, for which he was rewarded with honorary official insignia, and the extensive patronage or business of all the authorities. These large banks are complete rulers of the money market; they regulate the rates of exchange, which are incessantly fluctuating, and are known to alter several times in the course of the day. The arrival or withdrawal from the place of specie to the amount of a few thousands, has an immediate effect in either raising or lowering the exchange. The bankers are kept most accurately informed on the subject by some twenty men in their general employ, whose sole business it is to be in constant attendance in the market, and to acquaint the banks of everything that is going on, when they, guided by the transactions of the day, determine and fix upon, between themselves, the various prices of notes, sycee, and dollars. Their unanimity on these points* is very remarkable; and they are all deeply impressed with the salutary conviction that their chief strength consists in the degree of mutual harmony and alliance that they preserve towards, and place in, one another. These reporters are also very useful to new arrivals, in affording them guidance on matters of exchange, or in introducing them to the best bankers; and the allowances that the stranger makes them for their assistance, and the banker for procuring him custom, constitute the gains of their calling. They have also to report the prices of silver every morning at the Magistracy, which from its daily increasing value has become an object of especial attention.

The large banking establishments conduct all matters of exchange

necessary 'in mercantile transactions, cash promissory notes, and conduct the refining of the sycee for those officers who have to pay in the annual taxes to the revenue. As these payments must be made in silver of certain purity, the banks are of great convenience to these officers, who send to them the bullion of any kind that they have been able to collect, and make them a large allowance for the waste and cost of melting, refining, and casting it into ingots of the prescribed size, and regulation "touch." The banker, on receiving these monies, gives a certificate acknowledging the deposit in his hands of a certain amount of taxes or duties, and this receipt the officer delivers to the provincial treasurer, who accepts it in lieu of the sum due, and thenceforward holds the banker responsible for the payment of the same on demand, and also for the purity and quality of the sycee. Similar services are performed by the bankers to merchants who have to pay in amounts of duties to the Custom-house.

Further, by an extended circulation of their notes, either for dollars or copper cash, they amass large principal, which they lend out at high interest; or, with this large capital at their disposal, avail themselves of the fluctuating exchange to work it to their advantage. They also keep up an intimate connection with the pawnbrokers, who make and receive all their payments in notes for copper cash, and will not take sycee, dollars, or dollar notes,—the former, lest they should prove counterfeit, and the latter on account of their fluctuating value. They are very particular in passing the bank-notes, and will only accept those of the large banks. A notice is hung up in each shop specifying what notes pass current with them; and when the people go to redeem the articles they have pledged, as they can only present those notes in payment, they have often to repair previously to the bank where they are issued, to purchase them, and, being at a premium, the banker thus gains his discount upon them. Of such importance is this considered, that, without the support of the pawnbrokers' connexion, the business of a banker will always be limited. Indeed, many of the banks keep pawnbrokers' shops also; and the chief banker at Fühchow is known to have opened no less than five of these establishments. This is on account of the high interest paid on pawnbrokers' loans.

It is thus, by combining these various ramifications, that banking on a large scale becomes an advantageous business, and the profits to be reaped therefrom considerable. Though all establishments of this nature must always conduce in some degree to the convenience of the public, those of Fühchow seem to tend more especially to benefit private interests. Banking, with all its attendant duties, is here considered to

be one of the trades ; and there are certainly more persons following this line of employment than any other.

The transactions of the smaller establishments constitute (if the expression may be permitted) the *retail* part of the business. The parties conducting them commence with only a small capital of a few thousand, or even a few hundred dollars, and their dealings are proportionately trifling. Their paper-issues are at first very limited, and for very small amounts, as they are accepted with considerable diffidence, and are almost immediately returned for payment. For some period they are obliged to keep bullion on hand to the amount of their liabilities ; and it is only by being constantly prepared to meet these that they gradually gain a name for stability and credit. A run is made upon these small banks at the close of the year, when specie is mostly required ; and, at this crisis, one or two failures among them generally occur. In order to preserve their credit they circulate the notes of the larger banks to a greater extent than their own, which are continually being returned to them. It is a regular thing for every banking establishment to collect and return to their various issuers all the notes of small banks that they may have received during the last twenty-four hours, who retire them either for money, or, as is more often the case, pay them up in the notes of the large banks. The small banks generally secure the business of their immediate neighbourhood by convenience of position, which also emboldens them to demand a higher rate of discount than the large banks, which may be at some distance off ; or should these latter be in their near vicinity, the small banks will be ready to discount at a little lower rate than they demand, and yet, at the same time, secure a slight profit by inserting among the strings of copper cash, in which they make their payments, coin of depreciated value, which they buy up cheap for that purpose. Such petty chicanery is not viewed, as with us, in the light of an offence, since, from the exceeding low value of the Chinese cash, (twenty-seven being only equivalent to a penny,) those must be bad indeed which will not pass current with the rest, and, accordingly, the inferior sorts, when used in moderation, are accepted along with the better in all the ordinary transactions of life. The profits of these establishments must, therefore, be but slender, (proportioned, however, to the extent of their dealings,) and some of the smallest firms may not make more than half a dollar in the course of a day.

It is surprising how few failures are to be heard of. These, when they do occur, are almost entirely confined to the small banks, which become insolvent for small amounts, and these being again divided into petty sums amongst many individuals, the loss sustained is but little

felt. In such cases, they arrange matters amongst themselves, in a very quiet manner; and seldom refer them to the authorities for management. The defaulters have to dispose of all their property and lands, and pay their debts with the proceeds to the best of their ability. Their creditors take care to see that this be done; and thus it is that they are generally enabled to give a dividend of from 50 to 60 cents in the dollar, or 10 to 12 shillings in the pound. Such failures, therefore, cannot be the consequence of premeditated fraud. One or two isolated instances of the latter have occurred; and once to the amount of 70,000 dollars, almost, if not the largest of the kind known. Four bankruptcies have been recorded at the Magistracy, during the last five years; one was the case just mentioned, and the three others were all for amounts under 6,000 dollars. Little is to be obtained by referring such matters to the authorities; as, if they apprehend the delinquents, they can only imprison them, and the expenses of the prosecution are not slight. No apprehensions are entertained as to the stability of the large banks. They have sometimes been subjected to panics, by malicious or unfounded reports, affecting their credit, having been raised against them, when sudden rushes have been made by the people to cash all their notes in circulation, crowds have collected round the suspected banks, and scenes of perhaps unmerited plunder of house and chattels have occurred, being committed by ruthless vagabonds who joined the mob in the work of depredation, though without having any claims upon the firm. It is now, therefore, customary for the magistrates to repair in person to any bank on which a rush is being made, and to afford it some help and protection, by endeavouring to restrain the hasty demands of the creditors, and even by pledging themselves as security for its credit. So sudden, however, are these rushes made, that in order to prevent a scene of violence occurring, it is, above all, necessary that they be promptly on the spot.

Forgery is also seldom practised, and never to any great extent, as notes for small amounts, which are readily convertible, are the only ones that are counterfeited. The penalties for this crime are not nearly so severe as with us, and transportation for 3,000 *le*, (or little less than 1,000 miles,) is the heaviest sentence yet passed upon it. More frequently the punishment has been confined to imprisonment, or corporal castigation merely. The authorities, however, are seldom troubled on this point. A forger of some notoriety having been several times prosecuted by the bankers, and with but little success, for he still continued to carry on his mal-practices, they conferred together, and agreed to take him into their pay, making him respon-

sible for any future frauds of the kind. He continues to receive a stipend from them at the present time, and is one of their most effective safeguards against further imposition, as it devolves upon him to detect and apprehend any other offender.

Copper-plates are mostly used for engraving the notes, but blocks are not yet out of date among the small bankers, who continue to use them from economical reasons. The notes are rather smaller than ours, being a little longer, but considerably narrower. They are surrounded with an elaborately engraved border, studded with sentences or addresses recommendatory of the firm, or its reputation, which gives them a very pretty appearance.

There are three descriptions of notes issued by the Fühchow bankers; viz., for copper, cash, dollars, and sycee.

Cash notes.—This is the most extensive kind; and they range in amount from four hundred cash, (1s. 3d. sterling,) to several hundred thousand. They are considered to be a most convenient circulating medium for common use; and, in ordinary transactions of life, are much preferred, on account of their portability to the copper cash itself, of which there is considerably less current here than these notes.

The *Dollar notes* are used chiefly by the mercantile or trading community; and are of a more recent origin than the former, having been extensively circulated only during the last twenty years. They are given for from one dollar to one thousand; but few only are met with of the latter amount; and they more generally range from one hundred to five hundred dollars. Being issued for silver, the intrinsic value that they command is constantly fluctuating, and as much as from 2 or 3, to 10 or 15 cash per dollar in a day.

The *Sycee notes* also range from one to several hundred taels; but the use of them is comparatively not great, and almost entirely confined to the government offices, sycee silver weighed in ounces being a medium seldom adopted in commercial transactions, which, nominally at least, are almost always carried on in dollars.

On entering copper cash for notes, the banker exacts a discount of from five to fifteen cash per thousand. To men in business, the changing of bulky cash into notes is a great accommodation, for the expenses of counting, portorage, stowage, &c., would far exceed this slight discount. That on entering dollars for notes is much higher, and is regulated according to the value they bear in the market. Thus, when a dollar, if exchanged for cash, shall realize 1400 of this coin, it will not, if converted into notes, fetch more than 1360 value. All notes, whether they be for cash, dollars, or sycee, can be returned at the pleasure of the holder, who will receive the amount of value as

therein specified without any further charge. The banker's profit consists in the discount *on issue*, and the interest he makes on the money whilst it remains in his possession.

In case of any of these notes being stolen or lost, notice is immediately given to the issuers, and payment stopped. This is soon effected, for when notes of some amount, say for 100 dollars, pass into anybody's hands, reference is always made to the bank issuing the note, before the transaction is concluded, in order to guard against counterfeit, and secure its validity. As, therefore, in consequence of the rapid circulation, all notes are returned to the issuer once in every few days, the missing note would soon meet his eye, and be recovered by the rightful owner. But should any notes be burnt, or otherwise destroyed, they cannot be replaced, or the holder indemnified.

Promissory notes form the chief medium through which large mercantile transactions are conducted. Bank-notes are considered equivalent to ready money, which is scarce, and large amounts seldom at once obtainable. The mode adopted is to give the seller of stock a promissory note, payable at one, two, or sometimes three months' sight; the latter, however, are seldom accepted. Ten days' grace are generally equally allowable on notes of all sights; and, in case of none being granted, it must be under express stipulation, and the word "immediate" affixed to the note, when it has to be paid on presentation; but, should the insertion of the word be neglected, the ten days' grace are always taken. When the note falls due, the holder presents it for payment, which is made in bills, for silver, dollars, or copper cash, as specified in the note. He then repairs to the bank on which these notes are drawn, accompanied by the drawer, to see that they be duly honoured. But, before the day of presentation arrives, the promissory notes may have passed through several hands, for if given by a firm of good name and standing, great credit is attached to them, and they are extensively circulated. Should the holder wish to make his note immediately convertible, he will find bankers ready to cash it for him, upon the payment of interest on the remainder of sight, at 2 per cent. per annum. These notes are taken at a discount upon payments in ready money, but rates vary according to the extent of sight granted, and the credit of the parties giving them,—on bills of one and two months' sight, as much as from five to twenty per cent. They are entirely issued upon mere private credit, which must be good, for all transactions are based upon it. Scarcely in two instances out of ten will ready money be given in payment for stock.

Bills are also given by firms on their branch-houses at other places, or by the branch-houses upon the principals, which, when obtainable, are a great convenience, and compensate in a measure for the restricted dealings of the banks who cannot make such remittances. In case of these bills being lost by shipwreck, or any other unforeseen accident, the drawer will generally indemnify the holder, though at rather a high discount.

Such, it is believed, is a faithful description of the paper currency and banking system of Fühchow. Though we cannot but condemn the uncontrolled and unrestricted nature of its issues, still there is little room in it for the practice of knavery or fraud, or at least very little to be obtained by the attempt, whilst, on the other hand, the facilities that it affords to the public are great. The notes are generally preferred by the people of the place to bullion itself, as they are more portable, command implicit credit, and may always be cashed when needed. It is to be regretted that they have not a more extended circulation, which would not confine their benefits to merely Fühchow, or its neighbourhood. In the upper departments of the province, between which and the centre, Fühchow, there is much communication, the notes of some of the larger banks are freely taken, but their influence does not extend much further on. Both in the northern and southern departments, the banking assimilates to that of Fühchow, but the notes issued there are only for small sums, nor do they admit of nearly so extensive a circulation.

It may not be irrelevant to allude to the rates of interest, which are very high throughout the country. The following are those exacted at Fühchow, on the best investments, viz., either on land or houses, from 10 to 15 per cent; on government deposits, which are sometimes forced upon the people by the authorities, 8 per cent. But, on investments on mercantile transactions, especially those of a maritime description, the rates range very high: from 20 to 30 per cent., as the risk run in exposing property to the mercy of the wind and waves, in vessels of not the most insurable description,—or to the still slighter clemency of the pirates that swarm upon the coast, is considered to be very great. On pawnbrokers' loans, they pay 2 per cent. per mensem, or 20 per cent. per annum. In pawning, at Fühchow, five days' grace are allowed, after which another month counts; and if the articles pledged be not redeemed in the course of three years, they then revert to the pawnbrokers, who, according to established custom, part with them to the old clothes' shops, at a settled premium of 20 per cent. on the original pawn. The pawnbrokers' shops are very numerous in China, and are thronged by all

classes, who pawn things of every description, with the utmost indifference.

Silver is now becoming exceedingly dear throughout the land; and the legislature are almost at their wits' ends to know how to stop the incessant drain of the precious metals that is supposed to be flowing out of the country. Great sums must have "oozed out" in return for opium. The value of sycee has been steadily rising. Many complaints were made, about twenty years ago, when a *tael*, or ounce, cost 1500 copper cash, instead of 1000, as was the original fixed value; but the exchange now exceeds 2000 cash per *tael*!

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ART. XI.—*Lecture on the present State of the Cultivation of Oriental Literature.* By PROFESSOR H. H. WILSON, *Director of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

[*Delivered January 24th, 1852.*]

It has been judged possible, by the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, that the objects for which the Society was founded, and for which it is maintained, may be made more generally known, and more accurately appreciated, by the adoption of arrangements of a more popular character than our ordinary proceedings, and which may interest a more numerous and varied portion of the public than the Members of the Society only, in matters concerning the Eastern World. It is not to be denied that the subjects which in a peculiar degree engage the attention of the Society,—the antiquities and literature of the nations of the East,—have hitherto failed to receive that attention from the public at large which might have been expected, if not from their own inherent interest, yet from our long and intimate intercourse with the most important countries of Asia, and the political identification of India and Great Britain. Works of high merit, elucidating Oriental literature, history, antiquities, religion, the conditions of Asiatic society in past or present times, and descriptive of the products of art or nature in the East, usually meet with a cold and discouraging reception, even from the reading world, or at most attract passing and ephemeral notice, leaving no durable impression, creating no continuous and progressive interest. It is with the hope of applying some corrective to this state of indifference, and of extending and keeping alive some permanent feeling of interest in the East, and in India especially, that the Society has determined to try the experiment of widening the sphere of its operations, by inviting the attendance of those friends and associates, who, without having time or opportunity to pursue independent inquiry, may be well disposed to accept such general information, as those members of the Society, who are more or less assiduously occupied in exploring the sources of that information, may be in a condition to communicate through the medium of an occasional lecture. The Society also invites the assistance of other qualified individuals who are not associates, but who, from the inci-

dental direction of their studies, may be in possession of interesting results connected with the East in general, and India in particular, in those departments of knowledge which other institutions and societies have been established to cultivate.

The multiplication of literary and scientific associations, whilst it has had the effect of spreading over a wider surface the accumulating treasures of intellectual acquirements, and so far contributed to their more universal currency, has, at the same time, been detrimental to their collective aggregation in one comprehensive and easily accessible repository. In the case of our Society, for instance, a variety of communications on subjects within its especial province, the geography, geology, statistics, numismatics, even the literature and antiquities of India, are to be found, not where they would most naturally be looked for, in the pages of an Asiatic Journal, specifically dedicated to the illustration of India in all its relations, but scattered through the several journals of as many societies as there are subjects of investigation. The Royal Asiatic Society contemplates these excursive divergences of its natural resources with no unfriendly feeling. So long as the public are put in possession of desirable knowledge through an appropriate channel, it matters little which medium is preferred; and the more popular the medium, the wider its circulation, the more advantageous its selection. Without interfering, however, or wishing in any way to interfere with the spontaneous choice of the channels through which contributors to our knowledge of the East may deem fit to communicate their inquiries to the public, it has appeared to the Council of the Asiatic Society practicable to combine the advantages of publication in other journals with a less formal and lasting communication of the subjects of such publications to the occasional meetings of this Society. A popular and general view in this place of topics more fully illustrated elsewhere, will not detract from the value of the published details; and the oral notice of any new and interesting circumstances relating to the East, which may be submitted to such an assemblage as the present, will not in the least impair the usefulness or interest of the same matter when given to a totally different meeting, or when assuming its state of typographical immortality. The Council, therefore, hope that they may expect the aid in this form—in the form of an occasional lecture—of the associates even of kindred societies, when their researches may chance to take a direction which falls within the legitimate precincts of the Asiatic Society, within which they may reasonably expect to meet with many who will take a lively concern in the same subjects, and some who may be qualified by their

own knowledge and experience to contribute to their more complete and entire elucidation. In plain terms, the Council hope that the Society will be favoured occasionally by a lecture on subjects connected with India and the East by gentlemen who are not enrolled in the list of its members.

That such valuable assistance will very materially promote the success of the arrangement I entertain no doubt; but I owe it to myself to announce that I am not so sanguine as some of my colleagues as to the general result, or the possibility of popularising Oriental subjects by a course or courses of lectures upon them. There are some branches of the plant which the Society is engaged to cultivate, which may flourish under this treatment. The products of nature, vegetable or mineral, especially those which have a commercial value, may attract attention; and countries and nations new to European geography may excite some interest: but those subjects which are purely literary—the languages, the literature, the institutions, the religions, of the Eastern world—can scarcely be rendered interesting by so summary a proceeding, as they cannot interest where they are not understood, and cannot be understood where they are not studied: they require previous training. Not only are they unfamiliar in themselves, and strange to the tenor of European thought, but the language in which alone they can be described is unknown, the terms are unintelligible, the names of persons, the denominations of things, are sounds so unlike anything to which the European ear and eye are accustomed, that they are like inarticulate babbling or hieroglyphic signs—make no definite impression—and leave no perdurable recollection. Without any precise notion of the names, we can have no sympathy with the persons, and the gods and heroes of Hindu and Persian mythology and fable pass before the eyes like misty shadows, of whose outline we have no distinct conception, in whose substantiality we have no belief. It is impossible, therefore, to take a real interest in the literature of which they are the ornaments and the essence. Few have a greater interest than I have to wish that it were otherwise, as it is the great and, I fear, insuperable bar in the way of the popularity of a department of Hindu literature which I have taken some pains to recommend to popular acceptance—the Theatre of the Hindus—and which has many claims on the sympathy of cultivated taste. I despair, however, of hearing the appellation of the *dramatis personæ*—Pururavas, Urvashi, Sakuntala, Vasantesena, Chandragupta,—enunciated smoothly and familiarly by the lips of my countrymen, or rather—for such is indispensable to perfect popularity—the lips of my countrywomen; and yet, until the

names are familiar, the incidents in which the persons are involved cannot produce a very lively or lasting impression.

Notwithstanding, however, this difference of opinion, and notwithstanding a strong personal reluctance to take an active part in the arrangement, from an unfeigned conviction that the period has gone by when I might have brought unimpaired energies to the undertaking, I have been prevailed upon, by the representations of my colleagues, to assume the initiative, and set an example which I doubt not will be more worthily followed. I propose, on the present occasion, to take a brief and necessarily superficial survey of the labours of Oriental scholars during the last year or two, in various parts of the world, especially in connexion with the objects of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Man and Nature in the East are the objects of the researches of the Royal Asiatic Society, as they were those originally proposed upon the institution of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta by Sir Wm. Jones. The East, however, is a relative term, and its limits in regard to Oriental literature are not capable of geographical precision. European Turkey, Africa, and Egypt come within the literary designation, in as far as their literature is of Mohammedan or Semitic origin; whilst the antiquities of Egypt have an Orientalism of their own. The hieroglyphics of ancient Egypt are not foreign to the objects of the Royal Asiatic Society; but it has so happened that none of its members have engaged, publicly at least, in their investigation, and no communications on the subject form part of its proceedings. The omission is of the less importance, as it is more than supplied by the labours of other societies, especially the Royal Society of Literature, and the Syro-Egyptian Society. Of late, however, the subject has been taken under the especial patronage of the King of Prussia, not only by the establishment of a magnificent museum at Berlin, for the preservation and display of precious monuments of Egyptian art, but to the equally splendid publication of the engravings of the monuments of Egypt and Ethiopia, collected by Professor Lepsius on his mission to Egypt—a work still in progress. We are indebted to the same eminent scholar for a profound work on Egyptian chronology, and to a no less distinguished individual, who combines the character of a man of letters with that of a statesman—Chevalier Bunsen—for the place which Egypt occupies in the history of the world. The continental journals are rich in contributions, which, although of minor importance, are of great value in the elucidation of Egyptian antiquity, although they still leave the perusal of the innumerable legends of the tombs and temples enveloped in considerable

uncertainty, affording ample scope for the exercise of learning, patience, and ingenuity. The less remote literature of Egypt has received some valuable accessions in the Coptic Grammar of Schwartz, published after his death by Steinthal; and in an interesting work on the doctrines of the Gnostic sect—the *Pistis sophia*—in Coptic, prepared for publication by the same scholar, and edited by Petermann.

It is unnecessary in this place to expatiate upon the prominent position assumed by our Society in laying before the public some of the most important results of antiquarian research in the countries near in succession to Egypt—Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia. The minute and scrupulously careful manner in which Colonel Rawlinson has decyphered and translated the inscriptions of Bisitun and other places in Persia in which cuneiform, wedge-shaped, or as they were formerly termed, arrow-headed characters, express the Persian language of the time of Darius, (the sixth century B.C.) has perfected the labours of preceding investigators, as Grotefend, Burnouf, Lassen, and Westergaard, and given a fresh impulse and example to those of his contemporaries, Hincks, Benfey, Holzmann, De Sauley, Oppert, and others. In all we find a general acquiescence in his conclusions with such modifications as are to be expected from the novelty of the subject and the exercise of competing and independent scrutiny. Of some of the variations suggested by Oppert especially, whose examination of the Bisitun inscription, published in the *Journal Asiatique*, is not yet terminated, Colonel R. observes that they originate in his having taken for his criticism the original translation only, and systematically ignored many corrections and etymological illustrations contained in the Vocabulary subsequently published in our Journal. It is some excuse, however, for this imperfect criticism, that Colonel Rawlinson's Vocabulary is far from completed, not more than about a half being in print; and scholars are not yet even in entire possession of his ultimate conclusions.

Arduous as is the task of decyphering the Persian inscriptions, a much more difficult enterprise demands the utmost efforts of those scholars who have devoted their attention to the subject in the interpretation of the numerous legends preserved by the monuments of the Assyrian empire; those which were first brought to light by M. Botta, and subsequently by Mr. Layard, in the adjacent, although not exactly the same, situations of Khorsabad, Nimrud, and Kuyunjik, once comprised possibly within the extensive limits, or at least the suburban dependencies of Nineveh, which are now accumulated in vast abundance in the great national museums of France and England, and

which have been made still more widely known, and generally accessible by the splendid illustrations published by the French Government, the *Monuments of Nineveh*, in five large folios, from the drawings of M. Botta, and a more miscellaneous work, comprehending the antiquities as well as the actual scenery and costumes of Persia, by Messrs. Flandin and Coste—a work still in progress; also by the published selection from Mr. Layard's drawings, and by a valuable series of inscriptions, printed under the authority of the Trustees of the British Museum. Interesting and curious, however, as may be the monuments and relics, which are very properly protected from further decay in the museums where they are enshrined, it is obvious that as long as they are merely dumb memorials of antiquity—as long as they tell us no story except such as we may loosely guess at—as long as they render no testimony to positive facts, they are little more than the wonders of a moment, exciting transient emotions of surprise, and suggesting vague notions of the past, which leave little permanent impression and contribute little to actual knowledge. It is not until they can be made to speak, to utter intelligible words, that they are of real value; and it is to give them a voice—to compel them to reveal the secrets of which they are the only deposit, that the magic powers of philology and erudition are assiduously devoted.

Foremost amongst the scholars engaged in this inquiry, our ingenious and indefatigable countryman Colonel Rawlinson has employed and has furnished to his contemporaries the only practical clue to the interpretation of the Assyrian legends. In many parts of Persia, whether graven on rocks as at Hamadan and Bisitun, or on the walls of palaces as at Persepolis, where the inscriptions of the Achæmenidan princes occur, they occur in triplicate. One is in the same character as that which Colonel Rawlinson has so successfully deciphered; one is in a rather differently modified although equally a cuneiform letter, expressing a different language, to which the name of Median or Scythian has been applied, but the exact value of which is not yet determined; the third is in the same or a similarly modified cuneiform character, which is used on the sculptures of Nimrud and Khorsabad. Now it is an obvious inference that this third or Assyrian inscription repeats or translates the first, or Persian inscription, and this inference becomes a positive conclusion by the recurrence in the same parts, of groups which in the Persian designate proper names, the names of persons and places, or certain phrases, as “says Darius the king,” and the like. By a careful collation of these parallel passages and the application of judicious conjecture, based upon pro-

vious knowledge of the languages likely to have been in use at the time, a certain number of corresponding letters or characters are verifiable and have been attempted to be verified. Other sources of probable inference, explained by Colonel Rawlinson in a memoir read to the Society the year before last, extended his command of the Assyrian alphabet to about 150 characters and a stock of about 500 words, with which he was enabled to propose a consistent and tolerably complete translation of the inscription upon the obelisk brought from Nimrud, and at subsequent periods translations of inscriptions from other monuments and the published tables of Botta, Layard, and the British Museum. Scholars in this country and on the continent have engaged actively in the same pursuit, especially Dr. Hincks in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, and in our Journal, and Mr. Sharpe in the proceedings of the Syro-Egyptian Society; M. De Sauley, in memoirs read before the French Academy, or separately published; by Signor Luzzato of Pavia; M. Stern of Göttingen, and by Messrs. Grotefend, Loewenstern, Holzmann, Arneth, and Hofer. The conclusions of these different inquirers are, as we might expect in this early stage of the investigation, somewhat at variance. According to Colonel Rawlinson the language of the Assyrian inscriptions, although neither Hebrew, nor Chaldee, nor Syriac, presents so many points of analogy to them that it may be determinately classed among the members of the Semitic family. Dr. Hincks and M. De Sauley entertain the same opinion, and so does M. Stern, although he reads every word differently from De Sauley, except the proper names. On the other hand, Signor Luzzato maintains that the language belongs to the Indo-Germanic family. With respect to the characters Colonel Rawlinson considers them as partly phonetic, distinguishable as simply alphabetic or as syllabic, and partly ideographic or monogrammatic, certain signs being used to convey the ideas, for instance, of God, the sun, the moon, a son, without expressing a sound, bearing in this respect a decided analogy to the Egyptian system of writing, from which it was probably derived. These opinions are in concurrence with those of Dr. Hincks, and, indeed, to some extent originated with him. De Sauley thinks that the characters were originally syllabic, but had become alphabetic, retaining numerous traces of their origin. Luzzato controverts their analogy to Egyptian, and Stern maintains that the writing is entirely alphabetic; and although he admits the existence of homophones, or words with the same sound but different meanings, he denies the presence of ideographic characters.

Like differences prevail with regard to the names of princes and

dynasties supposed to be decypherable; according to Colonel Rawlinson the oldest monuments belong to the twelfth or thirteenth century B.C., and he ascribes them to Asar-adan-pul, or Sardanapalus. The inscriptions also, according to him, refer to kings of a still earlier dynasty, whose names he reads Temenbar the First, Hevenk. and a third doubtful. The son of Assar-adan-pul he calls Temenbar the Second, whose exploits are recorded in the obelisk inscription. His son is named Husi-hem, or Shemir-hem, and his grandson Hevenk the Second. A later dynasty built or embellished the palaces of Khorsabad, of whom Colonel Rawlinson first read the names Arko-tsin, Bel-adonim-sha, and Assar-adan; but he latterly concurred in the more generally adopted opinion that the kings named are those of the Bible history, Sargon or Shalmeneser, Sennacherib, and Esar-haddon. In inscriptions on slabs, subsequently sent home by Mr. Layard, Colonel Rawlinson also read the names of Hezekiah, Jerusalem, and Judæa; in the Babylonian spelling—Khazakiyahu, Urusalimma, and Yahuda. Very recently Dr. Hincks has decyphered the name of Menahem, king of Samaria, upon the obelisk inscription, and that of Jehu,¹ son of Omri. Grotefend alone brings down the time of the obelisk to the Biblical period, the seventh and eighth centuries B.C., and reads the name which Rawlinson made Temenbar, Shalmeneser. Hoefer takes an entirely different view of the whole subject, and maintains that the monuments of Nimrud and Khorsabad are entirely Persian works of the Achæmenidan, Arsakian, and Sassanian kings, or from the sixth century before to the sixth century after Christ, founding his conclusion upon the prophetic denunciations of the Old Testament, foretelling the utter and perpetual desolation of Nineveh. Amidst these differences there is one conclusion which seems to be without dispute: the invariable occurrence of the name of Nebuchadnezzar on the bricks which are found for a considerable distance north and south of Baghdad, and of which numbers are to be found in most collections. Colonel Rawlinson observes that he has examined an infinite number of them, and never found any other legend than that of Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabopalsar. Other concurrences will probably be established when the key, furnished by Colonel Rawlinson

¹ Communications received from Colonel Rawlinson, subsequently to the delivery of this lecture, one of which was read at the meeting of the Society of the 6th March, announce his having also independently read the same name, that of Jehu, in the inscription; and, in fact, he had long before read the same name on the obelisk, as *Yahua*, son of *Hubiri*, but he was then at a loss to identify the individual.—See Journal Royal Asiatic Society, XII., p. 447.

from the collation of the Assyrian inscription at Bisitun with the Persian, is fully at the command of oriental scholars. The fourteenth number of our Journal, recently published, is occupied by the transcript of this inscription at Bisitun, and of detached inscriptions of the same class, either there or at Nakshi Rostam, accompanied by a verbal Latin translation, which is vindicated by an elaborate analysis of each group of characters as far as to the end of the first column, and by the commencement of a memoir on the alphabet. The return of Colonel Rawlinson to Baghdad has prevented him from proceeding further at present ; but we may expect the completion of the work in due time : in the mean while he has added to his analysis a vocabulary of 246 characters ; their forms, their phonetic powers, and ideographic values, remarking at the same time the list does not pretend to be complete or perfect. That it will be of essential service as it is cannot be doubted, and with the multiplication of facilities as well as of materials, and the continued and persevering exertions of the scholars who have entered upon the subject, we may hope that the perplexities by which they are at present evidently embarrassed will be overcome, and that we may yet glean from the monuments of Nineveh a probable outline of the annals of Assyria and Babylon.

In connexion with the ancient history of Persia the cultivation of the Zend language continues to be assiduously pursued abroad. The doubts thrown by Sir William Jones upon the authenticity of the Zend-avesta as translated by Anquetil du Perron, and shared in by Erskine and Vans Kennedy, have rendered the subject distasteful to English orientalists ; and the Rev. Dr. Wilson of Bombay is the only labourer in this field, in which his professional avocations tend to limit his operations to controversial literature. The same doubts have never been admitted on the continent, and the study has never wanted cultivators. At the head of them is M. Burnouf of Paris, whose *Commentaire sur le Yaçna*, in which a Zend work is illustrated by a Sanscrit translation, throws important light upon the religion and religious language of the Parsis. We owe to him also a lithographed copy of the *Vendidad Sade*, of which an edition has been recently printed in Roman characters at Leipsic, by Professor Brockhaus, accompanied by a glossary, which will be of essential utility to students, and is of great interest as affording a ready means of comparison between Zend and Sanscrit. Two editions of all the Zend works which are procurable have been announced, one by M. Westergaard of Copenhagen, a young Danish scholar, who a few years since undertook a voyage to Bombay, and a journey thence to Yezd, in Persia, to perfect his knowledge of Zend ; following the example set

by his learned countryman Professor Raske, whom some of us may remember to have seen in India engaged in a like undertaking. The other edition is in preparation at Erlangen, by Dr. Spiegel, who is advantageously known by his writings on subjects connected with the literature and traditions of the Parsis. Professor Lassen is also at work upon an edition of the Vendidad. These publications must contribute to the preparation of a grammar of the Zend, which is still a desideratum, and to the settlement of the question of its authenticity; for although with the evidence of the Achæmenidan inscriptions we cannot question that there was in use in Persia in the reign of Darius a language very much the same as the Zend, yet the sacred writings of the Parsis abound with questionable passages, and present a very suspicious affinity to Sanscrit. There does, indeed, appear to have been a very early and intimate intercourse between the Parsi worshippers of fire and the Brahmans. The Magas—the Magi—are recognised in the Puranas as a caste of Brahmans, and as the privileged priests of a celebrated temple of the sun at Multan. The subject has been yet scarcely touched upon, and its further investigation may be recommended to the attention of our countrymen in the Punjab, who are favourably circumstanced for ascertaining if any remains or traditions of the worship of the sun are still to be discovered in that quarter.

Another language or dialect considered by the Parsis as sacred—the Pehlevi—has lately received some illustration by the publication of the Bundesh by Mr. Westergaard. This has been usually regarded as the form of speech current under the Sassanian kings, or from the second century of the Christian era to the Mohammedan conquest of Persia. The coins of those princes bear legends in the Pehlevi character, and the same continued in use for some time after the conquest, as our colleague, Mr. Thomas, has so satisfactorily shown in his Memoirs on the Parthian Coins in the Numismatic Journal, and on the Coins of the Mohammedan Governors of Persia, in our Journal. Inscriptions in the same sort of characters are also found on rocks, accompanying sculptured figures, which unmistakeably represent the defeat and capture of Valentinian by the Persian monarch Shahpur. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the Persian of that time was written in a *quasi* Pehlevi character; but it nevertheless appears doubtful if the language was the Pehlevi of the Parsi books. At any rate, it is clear that the language of the inscriptions is not the same, for they have not yet been interpreted; and ability to read the books does not confer ability to read the inscriptions. It is this which has chiefly induced Mr. Westergaard to express some

hesitation in recognising the authenticity of the Parsi Pehlevi, and he is disposed to consider it as a fabricated form of speech, founded on more modern Persian. That the Parsis of India are not unfamiliar with the art of constructing out of the living Persian a form of speech which they pretend to be of a more ancient origin, we know from the *Dasatir*, the language of which, as soon as it was published at Bombay, was shown by the late Colonel Lockett, and by our colleague Mr. Atkinson, to be a fabrication. An ingenious writer in the *Asiatic Journal*—Mr. Henry Norris—proved the same; and the question was placed beyond doubt by the concurrence of Mr. Erskine: at the same time, it is not unlikely that the Persian language adopted some modifications, intermediate between its form in the reign of Darius and that used by Firdusi—an interval of fifteen centuries—and of one of which, called Parsi, we have had very lately published a grammar and specimens by Dr. Spiegel. The author considers this to have been the language of Persia, between the genuine Pehlevi of the Sassanians and the Persian of the *Shah-nama*; it is used in the translation of the *Zend-avesta*, and is written sometimes with Zend, and sometimes with Arabic letters—the writings being later than the speech. The Parsi is essentially the same with modern Persian, but offers peculiarities sufficient to constitute it a distinct dialect. The dialects of Persia have hitherto been uninvestigated; but we have evidence of their existence in the enumerations of Mohammedan writers, who speak of the Haravi, Chaghzi, Savuli, and Soghdi, as well as the Deri, Pehlevi, and Parsi, as languages of Persia. Those dialects which have been furthest removed from the influence of Arabic, as those on the bordering provinces on the east and north—Karman, Yazd, Scistan, Mazenderan, and Ghilan—are well entitled to inquiry, as they would probably show the steps by which Achæmenidan Zend, and Sassanian Pehlevi came to be the Persian of the Courts of Ispahan and Teheran.

The modern literature of Persia has not received equal attention with the ancient; but it has not been overlooked. Translations of the *Bostan* of Sadi in German verse, and of a portion of the *Masnavi*, have been published by Messrs. Graf and Rosen; and Professor Vullers, of Giessen, has finished his *Institutiones Linguae Persicæ cum Sanscrita et Zendica comparatæ*. Dr. Dorn has published the text and translations of the histories of Tabaristan and Sarbadar, from the *Habib-us-Sair* of Khondemir, and the text of a history of Tabaristan, Ruyan, and Mazenderan, by Zahir-ud-din. In this country, some, although not much, progress has been made by the Text Society in printing the works of Jami, by the text of Salâman and Absâl, edited

by Mr. Falconer. Editions of the Akhlaki Mohsani, Anwari Soheili, and Gulistan have been published by Professors Ouseley and Eastwick, for the use chiefly of the students of the East India College. An improved edition of Professor Johnson's Persian Dictionary is far advanced. The Journal of the Society last published has an article on the Persian Game of Chess, by our colleague Mr. Bland, from original authorities, in which is described a much more complicated form of the game than that which exhausts the patience of any except chess-players, played with fifty-six pieces on a board of a hundred and ten squares. Mr. Bland has also questioned the hitherto received tradition of the Indian origin of the game. As far as has been ascertained, there is no original authority for this; but it is not an Indian—it is a Persian tradition, and so far disinterested, that it is not the invention of national vanity. Mr. Bland has also given us a century of Persian odes—ten from the collections of as many celebrated poets, and all, with one exception, hitherto unedited.

The cultivation of Arabic literature has been always prosecuted with greater zeal and efficiency on the Continent than in this country; and the great names of Golius, Erpenius, and De Sacy are there not without worthy successors. With exception of the translation of the Makamat Hariri, by Mr. Preston, we have nothing to offer in this rich field of Oriental literature; whilst the presses of Germany and France are incessantly at work on both texts and translations. Professor Weil, of Heidelberg, has completed his history of the Khalifs—a work that well deserves rendering into English. To the industry of Professor Wüstenfeldt, of Göttingen, we owe the texts of Ibn Kotaiba's general history—a supplement to the biographical dictionary of Abu Zakaria al Nawawi, and a tract on the genealogies of the Arab tribes, by Mohammed Ibn Habib. The first volume of Shaharastani's account of religious and philosophical sects, of which the text was edited for the Text Society by the Rev. Mr. Cureton some time since, has been translated at Halle by Haarbrucker. The travels of Ibn Batuta have been translated by M. de Fremery; but a more extensive and important work is the text of the history of the Berbers, by Ibn Khaldun, edited by M. de Slane, and published at Algiers by order of the Government of France: a translation is to follow. The history of the Arab tribes who settled in Northern Africa, and of the Berber dynasties who preceded them, is but one portion of the great work of Abdurrahman Ibn Mohammed Ibn Khaldun, a native of Tunis, born in the fourteenth century, who filled various high offices in the service of the Sultans of Tunis, Morocco, Granada, and Cairo; and who nevertheless found leisure, in the course of a life of seventy-

four years, to write a series of important historical works, preceded by a discussion on the progress of civilization and the elements of social organisation—a remarkable work, when we advert to the state of historical composition in the cotemporary Christian nations. The text and a translation of this portion, with notes by M. Quatremere, has been some time in the press. The encouragement given by the French Government to the publication of the part which relates to the Berbers, is entitled to the credit of the wise as well as liberal policy of directing the learning and industry of competent scholars to the elucidation of the past condition of those races which have been subdued by the arms of France, and are subject to its rule.

The history of the Arabs of Spain for which we have been hitherto dependent upon authorities utterly worthless, with one exception, the translation of Al-Makkari, by Señor Gayangos, continues, through the industry of M. Dozy, to accumulate trustworthy materials for its accurate illustration in the collection of original Arabic works on Spanish history. M. Dozy has also commenced their application to the end for which they are being collected in his *Récherches sur l'Histoire Politique et Littéraire de l'Espagne pendant le Moyen Age*; the first volume of which is published, and contains a variety of interesting statements by both Christian and Mohammadan writers.

Mohammadan Law and Jurisprudence have been illustrated by the continuation of M. Perron's translation of the work of Khalil Ibn Ishak, and Mr. Baillie's Law of Purchase and Sale, chiefly from the *Fatawa Alemgiri*. The text and translation of the Algebra of Omar Alkhayani, by M. Woepcke, shows the Arabs to have far surpassed their masters the Greeks in this branch of mathematics, and the same superiority is claimed for them in general by M. Sedillot, in his *Matériaux pour servir à l'Histoire comparée des Sciences Mathématiques chez les Grecs et les Orientaux*. M. Woepcke has also published in the number of the *Journal Asiatique* last received the text and translation of two mathematical tracts, which purport to be translations from the Greek of Euclid, the originals of which are lost. Various publications, texts, and translations of Arabic works, especially on Grammar and Lexicology, have been printed on the Continent, which time will not allow me to notice in detail; but which prove the great interest taken everywhere, except in England, in this department of Oriental literature. I cannot, however, dismiss the subject without adverting to a work recently received from Vienna, the *History of the Literature of the Arabs*, by the indefatigable patriarch and pattern of orientalists the Baron von Hammer-Purgstall, who after more than half a century of industry even more than

German, comes forward in his seventy-sixth year with two portly quarto volumes, constituting the first of a series of some ten or twelve volumes, in which the history of Arabic literature is to be narrated from its beginning in the century before Mohammed to the end of the twelfth century of the Hijra, or from the sixth to the nineteenth century of the Christian era. The two volumes now published comprise only the three first centuries of the Hijra, but they contain notices of 830 authors, and short extracts from their compositions. We may judge from what is thus accomplished what remains to be done, and we can only hope that the venerable author will have health and length of days to complete an undertaking which so worthily crowns the labours of a life devoted with never-failing zeal and inexhaustible enthusiasm to the literature of the Mohammadan world.

Continental scholars have not been neglectful of the other principal division of the Mohammadan races—the Turks; and we have an anthology published by Peifer at Hirschberg, in Silesia, and the *Bibliothèque d'Historiens Orientaux* of Beresina, the first part of which contains the *Shaibani-nama*, a history of the Mongols, and the second a Tatar translation of the *Jami-al-Tawarikh*; the following volumes will continue the illustrations of the early history of the Turk tribes. It cannot but be thought somewhat extraordinary that so long and so intimately as this country has been connected politically with the Ottoman empire, such a total neglect should have been exhibited of the Turkish language and literature: we have been hitherto dependent, even for personal communication with the officers of the Government, to Greek or Syrian dragomans, or more correctly Tarjuman or translators, and although some few years since a move was made by the British Government to provide a less exceptionable class of qualified interpreters, the project has been but imperfectly carried out, and the most confidential communications are still at the mercy of foreigners who are not even British subjects. As to the literature, for any information on that subject we must repair to Paris, St. Petersburg, or Vienna. We have no later history of the Turks even than that of Knolles, which is now 150 years old, and which, notwithstanding Dr. Johnson's panegyric, can scarcely be regarded as an authority, as the writer understood neither Arabic nor Turkish. Yet in all probability a proposal to publish in an abridged form a translation of Von Hammer's great History of the Turks would meet with no encouragement from the representatives of the reading public, the publishers and booksellers.

A like apathetic indifference prevails in this country with regard to the less important but not valueless or uninteresting forms of

oriental speech that are current on the confines of Turkey, Russia, and Persia. As observed by the latest editor and translator of the Armenian chronicle of Moses of Chorene, Professor De Florival, the brothers Whiston, above a century ago, astonished the learned world by their translation of the Armenian chronicle ; but there the effort ceased, and Armenian has had no subsequent attraction for English orientalists. Georgian is equally untouched. The name of Ossetic is scarcely known, although its affinity to Sanscrit renders it a peculiarly interesting Caucasian dialect. For all these we must refer to Continental scholars. Something more has been effected in Syriac through the industry of the Rev. Mr. Cureton and Dr. Lee, but they have worthy competitors abroad in Professor Bernstein of Breslau, and Professor Thullberg of Upsala in Sweden.

Thanks to the enlightened policy of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, which encourages every feasible attempt to render the various languages of India acquirable by their servants, and to make the various races of India known to all the world in their past as well as present social condition, through their literature, their institutions, their laws, their traditions, their remains, we make a better figure in all that relates to the Hindus especially, than in what concerns the Mohammadan people, whether natives of India or of other countries of the East. In this country the publication of the text of the Rig-veda, the first and most important of the four Vedas or Scriptural authorities of the Hindus, constitutes an epoch in the history, not only of the Hindu religion, but in that of the religious systems of the whole ancient world. The first volume is printed, the second is advanced ; it will be completed in two, or at most three, more volumes. The second Veda also, the Yajur-veda, is in progress. The Rig-veda is printed entirely at the cost of the Company, and they contribute liberally to that of the Yajur. They have, it is true, been obliged to avail themselves of the service of German scholars as editors, the Rig Veda being printed at Oxford under the editing of Dr. Maximilian Müller, and the Yajur under that of Dr. Albrecht Weber, at Berlin ; but they are entitled to the credit of preserving these venerable works from destruction, and of placing them within the reach of European erudition, as without their aid it is not likely that these Vedas would ever have been printed. Of the third, or Sama Veda, a portion, constituting its text, was printed by the Oriental Text Society some years since, from a MS. furnished by the Rev. Mr. Stevenson ; and a translation, by the same, was published by the Translation Fund Committee. But a more carefully prepared edition, with a German translation, and a copious glossary, has been more

recently published at Göttingen by Professor Benfey. The fourth Veda, the Atharva, has not yet found an editor. Supplementary works, illustrative of the texts of the Vedas, have been published on the Continent, particularly the Nirukta, an original glossary and comment, by Professor Roth, of Tübingen, who is the author of several learned dissertations on the literature and history of the Vedas, published in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, and other literary periodicals. In his *Etudes sur les Hymnes du Rig Veda*, and his *Essai sur le Mythe des Ribhavas*, Professor Nove, of Louvain, has speculated upon the early periods of Hindu society in a strain which, although perhaps not always incontrovertible, is recommendable, by its general correctness and its animated eloquence, to the perusal of those who do not make the subject a study, but who would willingly receive some information respecting it. There still remains, however, a vast body of literature subsidiary to the texts of the Vedas, the investigation of which is essential to their being rightly and thoroughly understood, and which offer a field not easily exhausted to the diligence of rising Sanscrit scholars. When, however, the texts of the Rig and Yajur Vedas are completed, we shall be in the possession of materials sufficient for the safe appreciation of the results to be derived from them, and of the actual condition of the Hindus, both political and religious, at a date coeval with that of the yet earliest known records of social organisation—long anterior to the dawn of Grecian civilisation—prior to the oldest vestiges of the Assyrian empire yet discovered—contemporary probably with the oldest Hebrew writings, and posterior only to the Egyptian dynasties, of which, however, we yet know little except barren names; whilst the Vedas give us abundant information respecting all that is most interesting in the contemplation of antiquity. They give us also reason to think that all speculation with regard to the origin of the religious systems of the ancient world, has been hitherto constructed upon unstable foundations; and (limiting their results within a narrower sphere) they establish the important fact, that the belief and practices of the people of India in the present day have no warrant from those writings upon which they have hitherto maintained them to be based. The religion of the Vedas and that of the Brahmanical Hindus of the present day are totally different things. Enough has already assumed a European garb to justify these assertions, although we must have the whole before us before we can venture to affirm positively, before we can justly appreciate all the results which a thorough acquaintance with the originals is likely to establish: a few years will probably enable us to form a safe and sound judgment. The first part of the Rig

Veda, the portion of the text in print, has been translated and published by myself. M. Langlois, of Paris, has published a French translation of the whole. German criticism is not satisfied with either of our performances, and we shall no doubt soon have a version in that language more congenial to the speculative spirit which renders German scholars such unsafe guides, in spite of their unquestioned learning and indefatigable industry.

Sanscrit literature in other departments has not been very assiduously cultivated in this country. The text and translation of a drama—the Vikramorvasi—have been printed; the text by Professor Williams, the translation by Mr. Cowell. A very useful work, a dictionary (English and Sanscrit), has been published by Professor Williams, which will be a great help, not only to the study of the language, but to translators of European works, and of the sacred Scriptures especially, not only into Sanscrit, but also into the vernacular Indian dialects, which depend entirely upon Sanscrit for the expression of new and unfamiliar ideas. At Paris, the excellent edition of the Ramayana, edited by Professor Gorresio, and published at the expense of the King of Sardinia, is completed in five handsome volumes, to which the editor has added two of his Italian translations. The text of the Mimansa Sutras of Jaimini, very handsomely printed, is in progress at Berlin, edited by Dr. Goldstücker, who has also engaged to publish a translation of the Mahabharata, and, in concert with myself, a new edition of my Dictionary, to be published at Berlin. At Breslau Professor Stenzler has reprinted the text of the Laws of Yajnavalkya—the text of the work well known in India as the Mitakshara, the chief legal authority everywhere, except in Bengal; and from Leipsic we have just received a new Sanscrit Grammar by Professor Benfey. An interesting series of works has been printed at Athens, in which we have the two most perfect forms of speech brought into friendly contact, Sanscrit and Greek; and the language of Homer and Herodotus is employed to interpret that of Bhartri Hari and Vyasa. A Greek gentleman, a man of letters, Demetrius Galanus, lived many years and died at Benares: during his residence there he amused his leisure with the study of Sanscrit and the translation of several Sanscrit works into classical Greek. On his death his papers were sent to Athens, where the translations of the Balabharata Itihasa Samuchchaya, the Bhagavad Gita, and Satakas of Bhartri-hari have been printed under the care of M. Typaldos, the Superintendent of the Public Library. The metamorphosis of Sanscrit into Greek presents nothing strange or unnatural. As illustrative of the present religious practices of the Hindus I may notice a series of delineations

by Madame Belnos, published under the patronage of the Court of Directors, representing the attitudes of the Brahmans in the performance of their daily devotions; attitudes we have most of us often witnessed, but of which a definite notion could be formed only through such a graphic description as this work supplies.

Connected with the literature and religion of India is the continued investigation of the purport of those inscriptions in an early form of the Nagari alphabet, which are found on columns and rocks, and in the excavated temples in various parts of India, as we look to them almost exclusively for the chance of clearing up the obscurity which envelops the condition of India between the Macedonian invasion and the first centuries after Christianity. Inscriptions on copperplates, of which also numbers are found, afford valuable glimpses of the interval between the latter period and the Mohammadan conquest; but both classes still require further investigation. The last number of the Society's Journal contains some interesting contributions from the older class of inscriptions from Ceylon and from Central India, particularly from the remarkable Buddhist structures at Sanchi, near Bhilsa, where Major Cunningham has discovered the names of some of the first propagators of Buddhism. A more full account of his discoveries is on its way home, as well as a separate description, illustrated by numerous drawings by Lieut. Maisey, who has been employed by the Government of India especially to carry on inquiries into the monuments of antiquity, under instructions emanating from the Home Authorities.

The last number also of the Journal of the Bombay Branch Society contains translations of inscriptions of the second class; one set, translated by Major Jacob, containing further and valuable notices of the Chalukya princes of Western India, and one translated by the Rev. Mr. Anderson, recording the succession of several princes of the Valabhi dynasty, of whose grants other similar records occur, by which their origin may be traced to the second century. The ruins of their capital, Valabhipura, have been lately discovered, and are described by Dr. Nicholson in our last Journal. The history of this state may, perhaps, receive some additional illustration when the great Jain work, the Satrunjaya Mahatmya, the Golden Legend of the Satrunjaya, or Girnar Mountain, shall have been translated. Of the Cave Temple Inscriptions some have been collected by Colonel Sykes and Mr. Stevenson, and many are published by Dr. Bird in his Historical Researches, and translations of some of them have been attempted, but it may be doubted if we can yet place much reliance on either the transcripts or the translations. The former evidently require collation before they can be satisfactorily interpreted. The

services of a scholar, well acquainted with Sanscrit and with the modifications of the Nagari alphabet found in India, are required, who may compare the transcripts with the originals on the spot, and verify or correct them ; at the same time that he takes careful copies of such as have not yet been transcribed. We shall then be competent to determine whether they are capable of being translated in an intelligible and unexceptionable manner. The inscriptions will then possibly serve to explain, as well as be explained by, the very curious paintings which decorate the walls and roofs of the cave-temples of Ajunta, and of which, as far as they have survived the corrosive influences of time and exposure, copies taken by Captain Gill, under the authority of the Government of Madras, are still in the course of arrival from India and are deposited at the India House. They have attracted the notice of several distinguished artists as specimens of art at an early date, about the beginning of Christianity, and they are full of interest as representations of manners and costume, and upon the whole as evidences of the predominance of Buddhism at the same period. In most of them the figures of Sakya Sinha and of Buddhist teachers are conspicuous, and the incidents are probably taken from legends once current, perhaps still extant in Buddhist literature, of his miracles and adventures ; of the opposition he encountered and the encouragement he received. In some of the paintings last received we have him blessing elephants and horses, and healing the sick and giving sight to the blind. In one very large painting we have in one part of it the ceremony of the Abhisheka, or royal inauguration, whilst the rest is occupied by a battle, in which the party overthrown appears to consist entirely of women who are assailed by men on foot, on horseback, in boats, and on elephants, with swords, lances, bows and arrows, and are defending themselves, not with those arms with which nature has endowed them, but with swords and spears, and clubs and missiles. Sooth to say, their natural defences are not of a very irresistible description, for they are represented mostly as hideous old hags, with shock heads of reddish hair. The existence of a Stri-rajya, or empire of women, is alluded to in the epic poems of the Hindus ; but the site is usually placed in the north-east, or Asam and Butan, not in the south, where these paintings originate ; and we have no account of the martial propensities of the fair rulers or their subjects.

Besides the laudable efforts which are being made in India to preserve the memorials of antiquity, very meritorious activity prevails there in the promotion of Sanscrit literature. Foremost amongst its results we may place the completion of a voluminous Sanscrit Lexicon, by Raja Radha Kant Deb, a native-gentleman of Calcutta, of

the highest respectability, and well known as combining a devoted attachment to the institutions and religion of his country, with a liberal participation in all public measures for improving the education of his countrymen by the efficient cultivation of the English language, and European literature and science. Opposed, in some respects, to the party which Radha Kant represents, is an association in Calcutta called the *Tatwa-bodhini Sabhā*, or Truth-expounding Society, following out the views of Raja Rammohun Rai and other reformers, and promoting them by the publication of original monotheistic works, the *Vedas*, the *Vedānta*, and other philosophical systems. The Asiatic Society of Bengal, the venerable parent of all Asiatic Societies, begins, it is to be feared, to exhibit symptoms of advanced age; but the *Journal* continues to be published, and often contains papers of much interest. With the aid of the Bengal Government also the Society proceeds with the *Bibliotheca Indica*, a collection of original texts in an economical form, thus conferring upon Oriental literature an inestimable boon, by placing within the reach of orientalists in Europe works which, as long as they exist in manuscript only, are either not procurable at all, or are to be consulted only by a distant and expensive journey to London and Oxford, Paris, Berlin, or Vienna. The example thus set by the Asiatic Society of Calcutta is about to be followed by that of Paris. At Benares, also, the most commendable activity is exhibited in connexion with the improvements of native education, under the intelligent and experienced supervision of Dr. Ballantyne, the Principal of the Benares College. To this we owe the publication of the text and translation of an original Sanscrit Grammar, the *Laghu Siddhanta Kaumudī*, and the announcement of the publication of the great source of all Sanscrit grammar, the aphorisms of Panini, with the most celebrated commentaries. The main object of Dr. Ballantyne's labours is, however, to familiarize the rising generation of the Brahmans especially, with the philosophical doctrines of Europe in concurrence or contrast with their own metaphysics and logic, and with this view he has published *Lectures on the Nyaya, Vedānta, and Sankhya systems*, comparing their doctrines with those of Aristotle, Wheatley, Berkeley, and Mill, and the *Sūtras*, or dogmatic principles of the six philosophical systems of India, both texts and translations; the object being twofold—to make, on the one hand, those Brahmans who study Sanscrit solely or principally, aware that the subjects to which they attach most value are as well or better understood in Europe, and, on the other, to render those who are studying English conversant also with their own philosophical systems; the two classes will then be able to discuss and compare their

respective notions, to the improvement of both, instead of being, as they are at present, mutually unintelligible. It is only by being doubly armed that the native English scholar can hope to exercise any influence whatever upon his countrymen, or extend beyond his own person the benefits of enlightened cultivation. To expect to accomplish the diffusion of knowledge in India through English alone, were as reasonable as to expect that a cripple, deprived of the use of both his legs, should hobble along upon a single crutch.

Although not altogether idle, European scholars in India have not of late done much for Oriental literature; yet there is much to do, especially in consequence of the recent accessions to our territory; and grammars and dictionaries of the dialects of the Punjab and frontier districts are essential to the due discharge of public duty. The only recent contributions to the literature of these regions are a Dictionary, English and Punjabee, by Captain Starkey, and the translation of the *Vichitra Nátaka*, one of the scriptural books of the Sikhs, by Captain Siddons. In the south, a new edition of Major Molesworth's *Marathi Dictionary* is in progress, as is a new dictionary of Telugu, by Mr. Charles Brown. To Mohammadan literature an important contribution has been commenced by Dr. Sprénger, in a new and authentic life of Mohammad, of which the first part is published. The slackness of European exertion is in some degree compensated by the activity of native scholars, who are beginning to make abundant use of the agency of the press, of which they have learned the application from their English masters. Through the whole extent of the Company's territories printing-presses have been set up, not only for the circulation of intelligence, or for missionary and educational objects, but for the multiplication and diffusion of standard literature. A great impulse has been given to the publication of Arabic, Persian, and Hindustani compositions by the use of lithography, which is better suited to the characters of those languages than moveable types. Of the productions of the lithographic press, in little more than a twelvemonth, there have been recently sent to the library of the India House one hundred and thirteen works, executed at Agra, Delhi, Benares, Meerut, and Cawnpore. On former occasions, proportionably numerous works have been sent from Bareilly and Lucknow. Some of these are translations of English books; but the far greater number are the works that are most highly esteemed by the natives, the compositions of celebrated writers on grammar, logic, metaphysics, medicine, poetry, law, and religion. The Mohammadans especially have published a number of controversial works, in explanation and vindication of their creed, and various collections of their most venerated traditions. The

dispatch of books I have just alluded to included no fewer than three editions of the Koran, two with interlinear translations in *Urdu*. Now I remember the time when the Maulavis of Calcutta looked upon the printing of the Koran as a profane desecration of the sacred volume, and were as jealous of its being translated into any vernacular dialect as the Church of Rome ever was of the translation of the Bible into the vulgar tongue. In Bengal and the South of India a like active multiplication of popular works, chiefly poetical, and translations from Sanscrit, is taking place. There is nowhere much attempt at originality, but the constant employment of the press indicates a state of mental fermentation, which, like the Indian churning of the ocean, may in due season bring jewels to the surface—the gems of creative fancy and independent thought.

Voyaging from India towards China, we meet with similar signs of the progress of improvement. The *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, printed at Singapore, is full of valuable information respecting the people, the languages, and literature of the Malay peninsula and adjacent islands. At Maulmain, the press is busy with educational works, in the language of Burma; and from Siam we have a new grammar of Siamese, by M. de Pallegoix, Vicar Apostolic in Siam, which is interesting not only from its inherent usefulness, but from its being printed at Bangkok, the capital of Siam. In an appendix, the author adds a view of the state of Buddhism amongst the Siamese, and gives a list of the writings current in the kingdom. The religious works alone amount to three thousand six hundred and eighty-three volumes. In this country, a valuable contribution towards facilitating the acquirement of the language of the Malays has recently appeared in a dictionary of that language, in the Roman alphabet, by Mr. Crawford, whose long and intimate acquaintance with the Eastern Archipelago, manifested in the important works he has heretofore published respecting them, furnishes ample assurance that the compilation will be of essential service to those to whom a knowledge of Malay is an object of necessity or interest. At Java, the *Transactions of the Batavian Society*, which began more than half a century ago, have merged into the *Tijdschrift voor Neêrlandisch Indië*, published in Holland, and relating entirely to the Dutch possessions in the Archipelago. The Government of Holland has of late years been munificently liberal in its encouragement of publications illustrative of the philology, statistics, and policy of its Eastern territories; and works relating to them are constantly put forth, unfortunately mostly in the Dutch language. The magnificent work on Japan, the *Nipōn and Fauna Japonica* of Colonel Siebold, which is another

example of the patronage of the Crown, is in German: the work is yet unfinished.

The language and literature of China have always enjoyed more consideration with foreign nations than our own; and France in particular has almost monopolised this branch of Oriental cultivation. We are not, it is true, wholly without Chinese scholars, and we may boast of two at least who have deserved and earned a European reputation, in Sir John Davis and Sir G. Staunton; but we may regret that they do not appear to have any worthy successors, now that they have acquired the privilege of reposing under their laurels. It is otherwise at Paris, although they have lately lost in M. Edouard Biot a distinguished Chinese scholar, who has left a valuable posthumous work in his translation of the Chiü Li, or Institutes of the Chiu, the administrative organization of the empire in the twelfth century (it is said) B.C., under the Chiu dynasty, the principles of which, according to the translator, still regulate the practice of the Government. M. Pavie has published the translation of the second volume of the San-koue-chi, or *L'Histoire des Trois Royaumes*; and M. Hervey, an account of Chinese horticulture and agriculture, from the *Encyclopedia of Agriculture*, compiled under the orders of the Emperor Kien-lung. Those who are interested in the history of India, however, look with anxious anticipation to the translation by M. Jullien of the travels of Hwan Tsang in India in the sixth and seventh centuries: it is said to be completed, but awaits some supplementary dissertations, as on the Buddhist chronology and the concordance of Sanscrit and Chinese names. In the meantime, a fragmentary memoir of Hwan Tsang, translated by M. Jullien, has been communicated by him to the French Academy, and is separately printed. It is of a very legendary—that is, of a very mendacious—character, and is not calculated to inspire any prepossession in favour of the authenticity of Hwan Tsang's travels.

I have thus attempted to place before you what may be termed a bird's-eye view of the principal contributions to Oriental literature during the last year or two. To have been more minute would have taxed your patience too severely, and I have been obliged to pass over many subjects of interest holding a subsidiary place, and especially the shorter, but not less valuable, communications which have been printed in our own Journal, in the Journals of the branch Societies of Madras and Bombay, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and that of the Indian Archipelago, in the Journal Asiatique of Paris, the Zeitschrift of the Oriental Society of Germany, the Indische Studien of Professor Weber, the Journal of the American

Oriental Society, and the Transactions of the Academies of Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Munich, and St. Petersburg,—in all which valuable communications on subjects of Oriental literature are to be met with, of the existence of which the public in this country is scarcely or not at all aware. As long as this is the case—as long as English Society is so incurious with respect to Oriental Literature—it need not be matter of surprise that the numbers and the labours of English Oriental scholars should be overshadowed by the much more imposing array of Continental Orientalists. The healthy stimulus of public approbation is here almost wholly wanting. Yet it is not to be imagined that the Orientalists of France or Germany find in the public at large many more individuals than amongst ourselves to take a delight in the translated specimens of Arabian, Indian, or Chinese talent. The literary taste of the majority is no doubt much the same abroad that it is here. General readers, whether German or French, have also their *David Copperfields* and *Vanity Fairs*, highly flavoured fictions, which render the plain food of sober facts insipid and distasteful to the intellectual appetite. Where, then, consists the difference? Why do the Continental presses teem with Oriental publications, texts, and translations, when in this country they cannot find a publisher? We may trace it to various causes, and in a great degree to the encouragement given by foreign governments, not merely by actual pecuniary aid, but by the multiplication of professorial chairs, and by the grant of personal distinctions to eminent Oriental scholars. The Government of this country has never been remarkable for the patronage of any description of literature, and it is not surprising, therefore, that Oriental literature should have shared the general neglect; the late administration of Lord John Russell, however, is entitled to the acknowledgments of our Society in having enabled us, by a liberal grant, to defray the cost of printing Colonel Rawlinson's researches. A solitary instance of this nature forms no material exception, however, to the imputation of want of encouragement on the part of the Government as one cause of the inferiority of England to other countries in the cultivation of Oriental letters. A still more efficient cause, however, is the existence on the Continent of a literary, or perhaps I should say, a learned public, formed of a sufficient body of scholars and men of letters, who are engaged and interested in something better than the ephemeral literature of the passing hour, or the circumscribed area of local and occasional topics—in the investigation of the productions of the human mind, in all times and in all countries—in the study of universal man. Such a public we also ought to have. There is no lack amongst us

of men of scholarly attainments, and of cultivated understandings, who might be expected to interest themselves in the contemplation of every diversity of intellectual development. It has happened, however, partly from the course of our early education, and partly from long-cherished prepossessions, that scholarship with us has rarely deviated from the beaten track of classical study, and has thought little worthy of attention except the literature of Greece and Rome. That the preference is well placed need not be disputed; but preference need not have been exclusiveness. Without in the least depreciating the superior excellence of Latin and Greek, men of studious habits and inquiring minds may be assured that they will find much to reward research, much to gratify taste, much to interest, much to enlighten, in the languages and literature of the East.

ART. XII.—*An Account of the Religion of the Khonds in Orissa.*

*By CAPTAIN S. CHARTRES MACPHERSON, Madras Army,
late Agent for the Suppression of Meriah Sacrifice and
Female Infanticide in the Hill Tracts of Orissa.*

[THE following paper was presented by Captain Macpherson as further illustrating, and in some respects correcting, the notices contained in his paper on the subject printed in the seventh volume of the *Journal*. The information there given was the result of some years' personal observation among the Khonds, and was of great value and interest; but, from the nature and novelty of our intercourse with that people, it was necessarily imperfect. Captain Macpherson having subsequently returned to the scene of his labours, prosecuted his inquiries over a larger extent of country, and among other portions of the Khond tribes. He thus collected additional important details, which he has now communicated to the Society.]

INTRODUCTION.

The Khonds—one of the Primitive Races of India. Their Relation to the Governments, and to the Zemindars of Orissa. Sources of Information respecting their Religion.

WHEN the people which spread the Brahminical religion and institutions from the valley of the Ganges, extended them, by migration and conquest, over the Indian peninsula, large portions of the primitive population remained unsubdued and unconverted where physical circumstances specially favoured their resistance to force and to the pressure of moral influences; and, accordingly, numerous remnants of them are now seen, scattered widely under the most various aspects, and often under highly interesting relations to the dominant people.

The physical conditions most favourable to the preservation of the aboriginal races were combined in high perfection and on a great scale in the portion of the north-eastern quarter of the peninsula nearly comprised between the Vindhya range on the north, the eastern chain of Ghauts, and a line connecting these drawn from the mouth of the Godavery to the centre of the valley of the Nerbudda;—a region composed of lofty and rugged mountains, impenetrable forests, swampy woodlands, and arid wastes, interspersed with extensive tracts of open and productive plain, and possessing a climate in many districts highly

pestilential, while, for strangers, it is salubrious in the open country alone. In that territory, large remnants of no fewer than five peoples who claim to be children of the soil—the Khonds, the Koles, the Sourahs, the Gonds, and the Bheels—have preserved, with various degrees of purity and distinctness, their race, their institutions, their language, and their superstitions. Wholly or in part within it, kingdoms were established by the Ooriya, the Telugu, the Mahratta, and the Rajpoot divisions of the Brahminical people; and between the ancient races and each of those kingdoms, strikingly contrasted in their genius and institutions, connexions have sprung up, the most diversified in their origins and their forms, but having one common tendency—towards the suppression and obliteration of the ancient and ruder by the more civilized people—worked out, consciously and unconsciously, through the gradual assimilation of manners, through proselytism to the Hindu or the Mahomedan faith, and through the fusion of races, notwithstanding every barrier of caste and custom.

Of these Hindu kingdoms, the ancient state of Orissa was formed chiefly from the territories of three of the primitive peoples, the Khonds, the Koles, and the Sourahs. In the ninth century, when the dominion of Orissa was at its height, its great social features bore the same general relation to its geographical divisions which they now present; and I conceive that, by briefly indicating those features and that relation, I may best exhibit the main facts of the position in which the remnants of the primitive races, and of the Khond race in particular, have stood towards the conquering people.

The Orissan form of polity may be broadly defined to have been a despotic monarchy, limited by a military aristocracy, while theocratic influences predominated. The sovereigns of its historical dynasties, from A.D. 473 to A.D. 1558, are celebrated for magnificence in their courts, and their public works; as successful in their wars of aggression; as liberal promoters of learning and the arts; and superstitiously devoted to the interests of their faith; while their power was amongst the last in the peninsula which was overthrown by the Mahomedans.

The body of territorial nobles were highly elevated in respect of rank, power, and possessions. They all bore the title of Rajah. They held, generally in virtual independence, estates of great extent, yielding large revenues. From their exclusive relations with the unsubdued portions of the primitive races, enabling them to command their wild valour, they derived considerable power. And they mainly wielded the great distinctive institution of Orissa—its *Paiks*, or hereditary landed militia, an army numbering from a hundred and fifty thousand to three hundred thousand foot soldiers.

The Orissan hierarchy was the most splendidly endowed in India; presiding, in the sixth century, over Bhuvaneswar, with its six thousand shrines; and administering, from the twelfth century, the great pantheon of Jagganāth, at Puri, whose "sacred territory" was above a hundred miles in length. Its members, moreover, generally held the chief civil offices, both under the state and in the domains of the Rajahs.

In the ninth century, the Orissan territory extended from the valley of the Ganges to the banks of the Godavery, measuring six degrees in latitude, while its average breadth was about three degrees of longitude; and the eastern chain of Ghauts, running at an average distance of seventy miles from the coast of Coromandel, traversed its whole length. From the eastern side of the great mountain range, its innumerable buttresses and offshoots spread over the adjacent plain to within a few miles of the sea. Upon the west, the range is generally supported by compact plateaux, series of broad ridges, and expanses of elevated plain; and thus the whole country is naturally divided, although by no distinct lines of demarcation, into an alpine, a sub-alpine, and a maritime region.

The Maritime division extends along the whole sea-board, nearly four hundred miles in length, with an average breadth of fifteen miles. It is an open, salubrious, well peopled, and highly productive expanse, with the exception of several groups of barren hills, and a tract of marshy and wooded deltas intersected by lagunes. The open and fertile parts of this territory formed the state-domain of Orissa, and included a large portion of the religious lands. The wilder districts were partitioned into estates, or zemindaries, of very various value and extent. The primitive races were expelled from the whole of this seaward territory, save where they were permitted to linger in its sequestered and unhealthy tracts, occupying lands on half-servile tenures.

The Sub-alpine region comprised above one-half of the entire area of the kingdom. It forms a vast expanse of hilly wastes, entangled forests, and rugged water-courses, exceedingly unhealthy, but interspersed with beautiful and fertile valleys, and occasionally broken by broad and productive plains. This region was divided into a large number of zemindaries, the domains of the titular rajahs of Orissa.

These zemindaries vary from inconsiderable estates to territories of great dimensions,—petty principalities which have made a considerable figure in the modern history of the eastern division of the peninsula. The more important of them are possessed by families which trace their descent from the royal houses of Orissa, or from the principal

stocks of Rajputana. A considerable number were originally planted by the Orissan sovereigns along the hill-frontier of their state domain, for its protection from the incursions of the dispossessed races. Others were founded by great hereditary officers of revenue and justice, through the gradual conversion of their administrative into proprietary rights. Successful military chiefs and leaders of predatory bands, also, occasionally carved out great domains for themselves and their followers. And, in some quarters, portions of the ancient population, where still unsubdued, formed zemindaries by inviting junior members of influential zemindary houses to become their Rajahs.

The Zemindars were bound by their tenures under the state to maintain, and bring into the field, large contingents of the national landed soldiery; to pay tribute, in some cases heavy, in some nominal; to perform special services, both public, and personal to the sovereign; and to receive at his hands investiture with their honours and domains.

The origin and spirit of the relation between the Zemindars and the landed militia of Orissa are plain. When the Hindus obtained, by force or fraud, a portion of territory from the primitive occupants, driving them back into the inner tracts of mountain and forest, the location upon it of a body of soldiers, holding lands on the condition of hereditary service, could alone give to the conquest security and value. The rivalries of the zemindars, and the terms of their tenures under the state, obliged them to maintain, and often to increase, that soldiery, even where the necessity in which it had originated ceased to exist. The zemindars stood to it simply in the relation of military patrons; while its chief officers, on whom they depended for the execution of every measure of defence or aggression, greatly influenced and often controlled their councils.

The aboriginal peoples have existed within the zemindaries in two distinct positions.

In the more open tracts, they were generally reduced, as in the state domain, to a semi-servile condition; the Khonds, for example, dwelling in petty hamlets, their services appropriated by the Rajah to supply himself and his officers with jungle produce, or assigned by him to particular villages or temples, and bearing the appellation of "Vettiah," or "labouring without hire."

Amongst the rugged bases of the mountain chain, the aboriginal tribes, on their subjugation, did not fall into servitude, but became free subjects of the zemindars, cultivating the soil on the usual rent tenure, or living by military service, or enrolled amongst the landed militia. They have everywhere tended—and the process goes on

daily by the most curious steps—to become assimilated to their conquerors in manners and religion; and the Khonds, in particular, have formed by intermixture with them new castes, many of which hold a respectable place within the pale of Hindu society,

Lastly,—beyond the *proper* limits of the zemindaries—in the Alpine region, comprising the central ridges, the lofty plateaux, and the inner valleys of the chain of Ghauts, large portions of the primitive races remain imperfectly subdued, while some have maintained their independence against the utmost efforts of the Hindus. The zemindaries being interposed between this population and the state-domain, the zemindars have had relations with it to the almost complete exclusion of the successive governments of Orissa, and have formed connexions with its several divisions, endlessly varied in their spirit and details, but generally upon equal terms, being founded upon a plain common interest—that of defence against aggression. In the quarter of the Khond people, for example—the zemindars having been ever at feud with one another, and prone to resistance to the state, while the mountain tribes were exposed to attack by every adventurer who might hope to seize their lands—there have arisen between each zemindar and the cluster of unsubdued tribes bordering on his domain, alliances for mutual defence, in which, while the tribes have a part and rank distinctly subordinate, their independence is recognised and equal advantages are stipulated.

Since the extinction of the native monarchy, the zemindar rajahs have acknowledged, in succession, the supremacy of Delhi, of the Mahratta power, and of our empire; but, secure in their mountain strongholds and pestilential climate, they have generally yielded to these governments a precarious and unfruitful allegiance, exercising, with few practical limitations, all the powers of independent sovereignty,—reigning the haughty and uncontrolled despots of their wild domains, until, compelled by their revolts, we have penetrated their unexplored mountain barriers, assumed the territories of a few families, and bent others to our yoke.

Of the primitive peoples, the Koles prevail in the northern division of Orissa, the Khonds in the middle portion, and the Sourahs in the south. The Khonds are now seen within the following ill-defined limits. Upon the eastern side they appear in the wilder tracts of the Ganjam district bordering upon the Chilka Lake, and touch in that quarter the coast of the Bay of Bengal. On the north-west, they are found on the boundaries of Gondwana, in long. 83°; while on the west, they extend to an unknown distance within the unsurveyed frontier of the Nagpore state. They are found as far south as Bustar, in lat.

9° 40', while the zemindary of Palconda, in the Vizagapatam district, is possessed by a Khond chief. On the south, the Khonds are replaced in the zemindary of Pedda Kimedy, in the Ganjam district, by the Sourah race, which is said thenceforward generally to occupy the eastern acclivities of the Ghauts to the Godavery. To the north, fifty miles beyond the Mahanadi, in the meridian of Boad, the Khonds are succeeded by the Kole people. On the north-east, they are found high in Cuttack; while Sourahs (not identified with the Sourahs of the south) inhabit there the inferior ridges of the Ghauts.

The British Government first came into immediate contact with the mountain Khonds in 1835, whilst engaged in military operations for the reduction of the zemindary of Goomsur, in the Ganjam district, whose rajah had rebelled, and taken refuge amongst them. Upon the completion of those operations, in 1837, I was employed in surveying a portion of the newly acquired district, and the unexplored tracts around it. In performing that duty, I was enabled to obtain a considerable amount of information respecting the language, manners, institutions, and religion of the Khonds, then almost entirely unknown. That information, professedly very incomplete, was embodied in a report, written by order of the Madras Government in June, 1841, and afterwards printed by the Government of India; and a distinguished member of this Society then did me the honour to present to it the portion relating to the Khond religion which was published in the Society's Journal. When I returned to the Khond country in that year, as an Assistant to the Agent of the Government in the Ganjam district, I found that I had previously visited only the tribes belonging to one of the two great antagonist sects into which the Khonds are divided, and that I had, thence, erroneously described the tenets and observances of that sect as constituting the whole system of the Khond religion. My present object is to correct that error from the information which I have been enabled to obtain during my long subsequent connexion with the people as a subordinate, or the chief, Agent of the Government for the suppression amongst them of the practices of Human Sacrifice and Female Infanticide.

The Khond religion exists in oral traditions alone, and the priesthood by which these are preserved is neither hereditary nor strictly organised as a profession; nevertheless, the ceremonials of the gods, composed of rites, invocations, hymns, legends, and recitals, form a repository of materials, doctrinal and ritual, from which the main outlines and spirit of the superstition may be authentically deduced. And, through inquiries systematically addressed to the best informed

priests and laymen whose full confidence has been gained, the doctrines which do not naturally find a place in the ceremonials, and all the details of these, may be ascertained. Still, with respect to every portion of the following account of the Khond superstition, I beg that, in addition to the obvious difficulty, under any circumstances, of ascertaining and describing from oral statements the opinions, feelings, and sentiments which constitute a system of religion, the following special sources of error may be kept in view. Only the leading ideas, the chief formalities, and the most familiar and significant expressions of this religion are distinctly fixed in the minds even of the best informed of its rude professors. The details of doctrines and of rites, of legends and narratives, vary in every district, and even in different parts of the same district; according as the population belongs to one or other of the two great antagonist sects, and according to the fancies of the officiating priests. Upon many subjects, for instance, there are many different legends, all equally current and equally believed, so that the one which I give is to be considered merely as a sample of those that exist. And hence, in the attempt to present in exact language and a systematic form, a body of traditional ideas, I fear that I have, perhaps unavoidably, imparted to the subject an appearance of theoretical completeness and consistency which does not strictly belong to it.

I have to add, that these descriptions are drawn exclusively from the Khond country of the zemindary of Goomsur, and from those portions of the zemindaries of Boad, Duspullah, Souradah, and some neighbouring tracts with the usages of which I am best acquainted.

All the principal legends, hymns, and recitals were taken down by me as they were spoken or intoned by well informed priests or laymen in the Khond language, and, on account of my imperfect knowledge of that language, translated line by line into Ooriya and Hindustani by persons highly qualified for the task. My late very able and deeply lamented friend, Dr. Cadenhead, who was Principal Assistant in the Orissan Hill Agency, and a perfect master of the Khond language, also obtained these legends in it, in many cases from sources distinct from mine, and collated my versions with his own made directly from the originals. And lastly, to obtain the inestimable advantage of Dr. Cadenhead's mature views upon every part of this attempt to describe the Khond religion, I sent a draft of it to him in India, which I received back enriched with comments upon every point on which he differed from me, or upon which he could add to my information, either from his own sources or by communicating with the late Soonderah Sing Deo, the Hindu gentleman who

was principal native assistant to the Agency, and whose services in that capacity cannot be overrated.

SECTION I.—THE RELIGIOUS DOCTRINES OF THE KHONDS.

Doctrines common to all the Tribes.

There is one Supreme Being, self-existing, the source of Good, and Creator of the Universe, of the inferior gods, and of man. This divinity is called in some districts, Boora Pennu, or the God of Light ; in others, Bella Pennu, or the Sun God ; and the sun and the place from which it rises beyond the sea are the chief seats of his presence.

Boora Pennu, in the beginning, created for himself a consort, who became Tari Pennu, or the Earth Goddess, and the source of Evil. He afterwards created the Earth. As Boora Pennu walked upon it with Tari, he found her wanting in affectionate compliance and attention as a wife,¹ and resolved to create from its substance a new being, Man, who should render to him the most assiduous and devoted service, and to form from it also every variety of animal and vegetable life necessary to man's existence. Tari was filled with jealousy, and attempted to prevent his purpose, but succeeded only so far as to change the intended order of creation. In the words of a generally received legend:—"Boora Pennu took a handful of earth and threw it behind him to create man ; but Tari caught it ere it fell, and cast it on one side, when trees, herbs, flowers, and every form of vegetable life sprang up. Boora Pennu again threw a handful of earth behind him ; but Tari caught it in like manner and cast it into the sea, when fish and all things that live in water were generated. Boora threw a third handful of earth behind him, which also Tari intercepted and flung aside, when all the lower animals, wild and tame, were formed. Boora cast a fourth handful behind him, which Tari caught and throw up into the air, when the feathered tribes and all creatures which fly were produced. Boora Pennu, looking round, perceived what Tari had done to frustrate his intentions, and laying his hand upon her head to prevent her further interference, he took up a fifth handful of earth and placed it on the ground behind him ; and from it the human race were created. Tari Pennu then placed her hands over the earth, and said, ' Let these beings you have made, exist ; you shall create no more ! ' Whereupon Boora caused an exudation of sweat to proceed

¹ There are various accounts given of the nature of Tari's neglect—one of the most generally received being that she refused to scratch the back of Boora's neck when requested to do so.

from his body, collected it in his hand, and threw it around, saying—
‘To all that I have created!’ and thence arose love, and sex, and the continuation of species.”

The creation was perfectly free from moral and physical evil. Men enjoyed free intercourse with the Creator. They lived without labour upon the spontaneous abundance of the earth; they enjoyed everything in common, and lived in perfect harmony and peace. They went unclothed. They had power to move not only on the earth, but through the air and the sea. The lower animals were all perfectly innocuous.

The Earth Goddess, highly incensed at the love shown towards man thus created and endowed, broke into open rebellion against Boora, and resolved to blast the lot of his new creature by the introduction into the world of every form of moral and physical evil. She instilled into the heart of man every variety of moral evil, “sowing the seeds of sin in mankind as in a ploughed field,” and at the same time introduced every species of physical evil into the material creation—diseases, deadly poisons, and every element of disorder. Boora Pennu, by the application of antidotes, arrested and held in abeyance the elements of physical evil; but he left man perfectly free to receive or to reject moral evil.

A few individuals of mankind entirely rejected evil, and remained sinless; the rest all yielded to its power, and fell into a state of universal disobedience to the Deity, and fierce strife with one another. Boora immediately deified the sinless few without their suffering death, saying to them—“Become ye gods, living for ever and seeing my face when ye will; and have power over man, who is no longer my immediate care.” Upon the corrupted mass of mankind, Boora Pennu inflicted high moral penalties; and let loose the myriad forms of physical evil by the withdrawal of the antidotes which had arrested them. He entirely withdrew his face and his immediate guardianship from mankind. He made all who had fallen subject to death; and he further ordained that, in future, every one who should commit sin, should suffer death as its consequence. Universal discord and war prevailed, so that all social and even family ties were broken up. All nature became thoroughly tainted and disordered. The seasons no longer held their regular course; the earth ceased to bear spontaneously fruit fit for the food of man, and became a wilderness of jungle, rocks, and mud. Diseases and death came upon all creatures; snakes became venomous; many flowers and fruits grew poisonous; and many animals became savage and destructive. Man now went clothed, lost the power of moving through the air and the sea, and

sank into a state of abject suffering and degradation. Thus the elements of good and evil were thoroughly commingled in man, and throughout nature. Meanwhile, Boora and Tari contended for superiority in fierce conflict; their terrible strife raging throughout the earth, the sea, and the sky; their chief weapons being mountains, meteors, and whirlwinds.¹

Up to this point, the Khonds hold the same general belief; but from it, they divide into two sects directly opposed upon the great question of the issue of the contest between Boora and his rebel consort, involving the whole subject of the practical relation between the two antagonist powers with reference to man, the source and subject of their strife.

The sect of Boora believe that he proved triumphant in the contest, and, as an abiding sign of the discomfiture of Tari, imposed the cares of childbirth upon her sex. Her rebellious will, however, her activity as the source of evil, and her malignant hostility towards man, remain unabated, and are ever struggling to break forth; but she is so completely subjected to control, that she is employed as the instrument of Boora's moral rule, being permitted to strike only where he, as the omnipotent ruler of the universe, desires to punish.

The sect of Tari hold, upon the other hand, that she remained unconquered, and still maintains the struggle with various success. They fully recognise the general supremacy of Boora as the creator of the world, and the sole source of good, invoking him first on every occasion; but they hold that his power, exerted both directly and through the agency of the inferior gods, is insufficient for the effectual protection of men when Tari resolves to inflict injury or destruction; and, moreover, while they regard Tari as the original source of evil alone, they nevertheless believe that she has practically power to confer every form of earthly benefit, both by abstaining from the prevention of the good which flows from Boora, and by directly bestowing blessings.

Doctrines of the sect of Boora. The three classes of Inferior Gods. Ideas respecting the Soul. The Judgment of the Dead.

Boora Pennu, say his sect, resolved that, for his own honour, his work should not be lost, but that man should be enabled to attain to

¹ The comet of 1843 was watched by the Khonds with the most intense interest—each of the opposite parties regarding it as a new and prodigious weapon in the hand of that deity to which their own worship was chiefly paid.

a state of moderate enjoyment upon earth, and to rise after death, through the practice of virtue, to a state of beatitude and partial restoration to communion with his Maker. To accomplish these purposes, Boora created a subordinate divine agency, in addition to that of the first sinless men who, when deified, were made guardians of man; and he appointed all the inferior gods to carry out the first object, one excepted, to whom was assigned the duty of administering justice to the dead. It was the office of all these gods to regulate the powers of nature for the use of man, to instruct him in the arts necessary to life, and to protect him against every form of evil. It was ordained, however, that men should obtain earthly blessings, in dispensing which the inferior gods are vested with a large discretion, only through seeking their favour by worship with the offerings which they desire, and which are their food; while it was specially provided that, as a standing acknowledgment that worship is due of right to Boora and Tari alone, and is paid to the lower gods only with their express sanction, the names of the two great divinities should be first invoked at every ceremonial.

The inferior gods are divisible into two classes, distinguished by their origin, their attributes, and the scope of their duties and authority.

The gods of the first class sprang from Boora and Tari. They are unchangeable and not subject to dissolution, and have a general jurisdiction, while the offices of all save the Judge of the Dead, correspond exactly to the primary wants of mankind under their new lot. The first necessity of that lot was, that man should live by labour upon the soil; and, accordingly, the duty assigned to the three first deities, is, to teach the art of agriculture, and to regulate the functions of nature necessary to its practice. It is the office of the first of these gods to send rain; of the second, to give new vegetation and the first-fruits; of the third, to give the increase, and to send gain in every shape. These deities delivered from Boora to man the seeds of all useful plants, taught him to clear the jungle, to make ploughs, to yoke oxen, to know the seasons, and to suit the seeds to various soils. It was necessary also, that man should subsist in part by the chase, and a god was provided to instruct him in the arts connected with the pursuit of game, and to lay down rules for its practice. The next condition of man's new lot was, that he should live in a state of constant strife; and a God of War was accordingly provided to teach the art of war, and to prescribe the laws for carrying it on and for making peace. The establishment of boundaries was necessarily a primary want of a population composed of hostile

tribes subsisting by agriculture and the chase; and to meet it, a God of Boundaries was created.¹

These six deities, then, were created to meet the primary wants of man on earth after the introduction of evil, namely:—

1. Pidzu Pennu—The God of Rain.
2. Boorbi Pennu—The Goddess of New Vegetation and First Fruits.
3. Pitterri Pennu—The God of Increase, and of gain in every shape.
4. Klambo Pennu—The God of the Chace.
5. Loha Pennu—The God of War (literally the Iron God).
6. Sundi Pennu—The God of Boundaries.

To which is to be added, as an inferior god of the first class:

7. Dinga Pennu—The Judge of the Dead; who will be described hereafter.

The titles of these gods vary in different localities; and between the three who preside over the functions of nature, there is a partial community and interchange of functions. They are invoked next after Boora and Tari at every ceremonial.

Next in rank to this class of inferior gods is the class of deified sinless men of the first age. They are the tutelary gods of tribes and branches of tribes. Like the first class of gods, they are unchangeable and immortal; but they have only a local, or rather tribal jurisdiction. Their aid is supplicated when any common danger threatens a tribe; and they are invoked at every ceremonial after the inferior gods of the first class.

The third class of inferior deities are sprung from the gods of the first two classes. They are the strictly minor and local deities of the Khonds. They are the tutelary gods of every spot on earth, having power over the functions of nature which operate there, and over everything relating to human life in it. Their number is unlimited. They fill all nature, in which no power or object, from the sea to the clods of the field, is without its deity. They are the guardians of hills, groves, streams, fountains, paths, and hamlets, and are cognizant of every human action, want, and interest, in the locality where they preside.

The following are the chief of this class of gods:—

1. Nadzu Pennu—the Village God.
2. Soro Pennu—the Hill God.

¹ In some parts of the country, the God of Boundaries is placed first in the class of minor local deities.

3. Jori Pennu—the God of Streams.
4. Idzu Pennu—the Family or House God.
5. Moonda Pennu—the Tank God.
6. Sooga Pennu—the God of Fountains.
7. Gossa Pennu—the Forest God.
8. Kootti Pennu—the God of Ravines.
9. Bhora Pennu—the God of New Fruits, produced on trees or shrubs.

Such is the subordinate divine agency to which the care of man's temporal interests was entrusted.

Before describing the office and attributes of the god to whom the determination of the destiny of men after death was committed—the God of Justice to the Dead—it seems necessary to state the ideas of the Khonds respecting the constitution of the soul of man. Men are endowed with four souls. First, there is a soul which is capable of beatification and restoration to communion with Boora. Secondly, there is a soul which is attached to some tribe upon earth, and re-born for ever in that tribe, so that, upon the birth of every child, the priest declares, after inquiry, which of the members of the tribe has returned. Thirdly, there is a soul which endures the sufferings inflicted as the punishment of sin, and performs the transmigrations imposed on that account. This soul, moreover, has the power of temporarily quitting the body at the will of a god, leaving it weakened, languid, sleepy, and out of order. Thus, when a man becomes a priest, this soul always leaves his body for a time, to hold an interview with and receive instructions from the god who has appointed him his minister; and when, by the aid of a god, a man becomes a tiger (a subject afterwards adverted to), this, I believe, is the soul which animates the bestial form. Fourthly, there is a soul which dies on the dissolution of the body.

Dinga Pennu, a name of unknown meaning, is the Judge of the Dead. Like the other inferior gods of the first class, he sprung from Boora and Tari, is unchangeable and immortal, and has general jurisdiction.

Dinga Pennu resides upon a great rock, or mountain, called Grippa Valli, or the Leaping Rock, in the region beyond the sea, from which the sun rises. The Leaping Rock is perfectly smooth and exceedingly slippery, “like a floor covered with mustard seed,” and a black unfathomable river flows around it. To it the souls of men speed straight after death, and it derives its name from the desperate leaps which they are compelled to make to reach and secure a footing upon its

surface, which they constantly fail to do, and so break limbs or knock out eyes, contracting deformities which they generally communicate to the next bodies they animate. Upon that rock sits Dinga, engaged day and night in writing on it a history of every man's actions towards gods and towards men, during every life passed upon earth; in receiving the souls of the dead; registering their coming; casting up each man's account of good and evil; passing sentence according to desert, and dispatching the shades by troops to fulfil his perfectly just and inflexible awards. The plan of retributive justice which Dinga administers is, in a word, this. If he judges that a soul has acquired by virtuous conduct a claim to beatification, he permits it at once to pass among the blessed spirits; but if, on the other hand, he judges that it has failed to establish that claim, he recommitts it to earth for further probation, after such detention in Grippa Valli as he thinks proper to inflict; sending the soul to be reborn in the tribe to which it belongs, and to suffer in a new life penalties proportioned to its guilt.

The punishments which Dinga Pennu inflicts on souls released from suspense in Grippa Valli include every species of earthly suffering, bodily and mental. Of these penalties it may be observed, that, amongst diseases, epilepsy is the most dreaded;—that poverty is peculiarly feared by a people among whom reduction to dependence involves the loss of many social rights and honours, even tainting the blood so as to exclude descendants from succeeding to the office of chief;—that the want or the death of male offspring is regarded as a punishment of the heaviest kind; and that the being born with a bodily defect is a calamity exceedingly felt by people whose first prayer for their offspring is that they may be brave and beautiful. But no punishment is considered so terrible as the curse of base moral qualities, such as cowardice or falsehood, which bring public infamy upon their possessor and his tribe.

From the following catalogue of Khond virtues and vices, the general spirit of the justice administered by the Judge of the Dead may be inferred.

The chief sins are—

1. To refuse hospitality, or to abandon a guest.
2. To break an oath or promise, or to deny a gift.
3. To speak falsely, except to save a guest.
- 4. To break a solemn pledge of friendship.
5. To break an old law or custom.
6. To commit incest.

7. To contract debts, the payment of which is ruinous to a man's tribe, which is responsible for the engagement of all its members.
8. To skulk in time of war.
9. To betray a public secret.

Whoever commits any of these sins will be born again afflicted with disease, with poverty, and probably with mental qualities which will make him infamous.

The chief virtues, on the other hand, are the opposites of these sins; and amongst them are besides:—

1. To kill a foe in public battle.
 2. To fall in public battle.
 3. To be a priest.
- And, amongst the sacrificing tribes,
4. To be a victim to the Earth Goddess.

To the soul of any one who shall observe strictly any one of the great virtues, while he shall not be guilty of any one of the great sins, it is considered that the Judge of the Dead will award a place amongst the beatified.

The beatified souls of men enjoy immediate communion with all the gods; they are in rank little inferior to the minor gods, live with them, and much after their fashion. Every tribe invokes the souls of deceased ancestors in endless array at every ceremonial, after invoking the minor gods; and they especially remember those of men renowned for good or great actions, as for reclaiming waste lands, for extraordinary bravery, for wisdom in council, or for remarkable integrity of life. They believe that beatified souls, although wholly without power, may act as intercessors with some of the gods, as with Dinga Pennu, on the one point of inducing him to restore lost relatives speedily to their homes.

Such are the chief doctrines which are held by the sect which worship Boora Pennu in chief—and are shared, with differences which will be explained, by the followers of Tari. Boora is worshipped, with the ceremonies which will be detailed hereafter, at social festivals held periodically by tribes, branches of tribes, and villages; his followers, while they assign to him the highest precedence as the omnipotent god, never failing to invoke Tari with deep awe and reverence as the second power.

Doctrines of the sect of Tari. Origin of Human Sacrifice.

The sect of Tari share, generally, all the doctrines of that of Boora respecting his purpose of providing a partial remedy for the consequences of the introduction of evil, and the creation of an inferior divine agency to effect that purpose. But, whereas the sect of Boora conceive that he perfectly accomplished his intentions, that of Tari hold that her opposition prevented his doing so with respect to the earthly lot of man, while, however, they believe that he carried out his purpose respecting the destiny of his soul after death.

The sect of Tari ascribe to her, exactly as that of Boora do to him, the elevation of man from the state of barbarous degradation into which he fell upon the introduction of evil, by making the disordered earth fit for cultivation, and by teaching the arts of agriculture, the chase, and war; conceiving that she did this through revelations made to mankind directly by herself under a feminine form called Umbally Bylee, and through her priests, while she also permitted men, at her will, to receive instruction and every other form of good which constantly flows from Boora through the inferior gods; and hence, her sect worship all those gods with the ceremonies they require, exactly as that of Boora do, but with the difference of view and feeling necessarily arising from their opposite opinions on the point of the relative power of the two chief deities. Lastly, the sect of Tari believe that she gave those blessings to mankind, and continues to permit their enjoyment, on the express condition of receiving worship with human sacrifices, which are her food.

A legend, which will be found at length in the description of that worship, gives this account of its origin and of the first benefits that followed upon it. The earth was in a state of soft barren mud, utterly unfit for the use of man. Umbally Bylee, the name of the feminine form which Tari always assumed when she communicated with men, appeared cutting vegetables with a hook. She cut her finger, and as the blood-drops fell upon the earth, it became dry and firm. Umbally Bylee said, "Behold the good change! cut up my body to complete it." The Khonds declined to do so, apparently believing that Umbally Bylee was one of themselves, and resolving that they would not sacrifice one another, lest their race should become extinct, but they would obtain victims by purchase from other peoples. They procured and offered a sacrifice, and, says the legend, "now society with its relations of father and mother, and wife and child, and the ties between ruler and subject, arose;" and the knowledge of all that relates to agriculture was imparted to men.

"Then, also," says the legend, "hunting began. A man brought," [apparently to a priest,] "a rat, a snake, and a lizard, and inquired if they were fit to eat. Tari rested on the priest, and said to him, 'Give names to all the wild animals, distinguishing those that are fit and those that are unfit for use, and let men go to the jungles and the hills, and kill the sambur¹ and all other game with arrows and with poison.' And men went to hunt. In like manner, a legend, given at length in the worship of the God of War by the sect of Tari, narrates how she taught men the art of fighting. "Boora Pennu, in the beginning," it is said, "created the world and all that it contains, including the iron of weapons; but men did not know the use of weapons, fighting in womanish fashion, and wounding one another with sword-grass and spear-grass, unable to inflict death." It then tells how Tari taught men to make bows and arrows and axes; and how, "so cruel" was the iron in which the "terrible goddess," when she introduced cruelty with other evils into the world, "had mingled no drop of pity," that none who were wounded lived; but Tari, on the prayer of her children, taught men how to moderate the "cruelty of the first iron," and how to make war.

Thus, say the sect of Tari, did men rise from a state of degradation, and obtain all the benefits they enjoy, through worshipping Tari, at her express invitation and command, with human sacrifices, upon her demonstrating the efficacy of the pouring out of human blood upon the earth. And they believe that the rite and its virtue were afterwards enlarged by a new revelation and decree. Men complained to Tari that the benefits she bestowed on them were insufficient, that there was "little wealth, much fear, but few children, deadly snakes and tigers, and thorns piercing the feet;" whereupon, she expressly prescribed the extension of her ritual, with new ceremonies and new arrangements for the provision of victims, and ordained that its efficacy, which was previously limited to those who practised it, should thenceforth embrace all mankind. And from that time, the sect of Tari believe that the responsibility for the well-being of the whole world has rested upon them.

Thus, while they admit the theoretical supremacy of Boora, her sect make Tari practically the chief object of their adoration, and believe themselves to enjoy her special favour. She is worshipped, like Boora, at great social festivals held periodically by tribes, branches of tribes, and villages, while individuals also frequently propitiate her with her great offering.

¹ A species of deer.

On the other hand, the opinions and feelings of the sect of Boora on the subject of human sacrifice are exceedingly strong, and always expressed with great warmth and force. They regard it with the utmost abhorrence as the consummation of human guilt; and believe it to have been adopted under monstrous delusions devised by Tari, as the mother of falsehood, with a view solely to the final destruction of her followers. From the legends which will be given at length in describing the worship of Boora, it appears that they believe that Tari was enabled to induce a portion of mankind to adopt the rite only through addressing to them a series of temptations and threats; whilst the remaining portion were preserved from the great sin through special interpositions by Boora.

One legend narrates, that Umbally Bylee appeared in the form of a tiger amongst certain tribes which were at war in the time before the arts of taking life and of public battle were known. She first killed game daily, to the delight of all who partook of it. She then offered to one of the parties to kill any one of their enemies they should designate, and having killed him, all regarded her with unlimited faith, and prayed her to teach them the art of assuming the forms of beasts (called the art of Mleepa) and the art of killing in war. She consented, and taught the art of Mleepa to a few persons, upon the condition that they, in return, would do one thing which she should require. This proved to be—that they should worship her with human sacrifices, the Goddess threatening instant destruction if they hesitated. They brought out a man for sacrifice; but Boora interposed—as narrated in the legend, and then taught to men both the art of Mleepa and that of war.

On another occasion, Umbally Bylee tempted men to offer the desired sacrifice, by promising to convert the waste and barren earth into cultivated plains covered with population and wealth,—“there being no higher temptation to hold out.” They yielded, and a human victim was prepared, when Boora again interfered, routing Umbally and her crew.

Tari afterwards made a way through the mountains for the waters of a lake, and said, “Behold the power of my divinity! Worship me with the blood I require.” Boora now left men to take their course, and a human victim was sacrificed; and thus, say his sect, did the sect of worshippers of Tari with human blood arise.

General characteristics of the Khond Divinities—Legends.

The gods of the Khonds have bodies of human form, but of ethereal texture. In size, they are generally superhuman, of various colours,

and variously attired and equipped after the fashion of men; and the higher are generally larger in stature than the lower gods. They can assume any form at pleasure. They all, with the exception of Boora, Tari, and Dinga Pennu, live exclusively upon the earth, moving at the height of about two cubits above its surface, invisibly to human eyes, but seen by the lower animals. They all have human feelings, passions, and affections; quarrel, and are reconciled; fall in love, marry, and have children; while the minor gods, at least, grow old, and are subject to sickness, and even to a species of dissolution, which a god of superior strength can inflict, and which differs from the death of men in this, that a god on dying is instantly re-born as a child, without loss of consciousness or recollection. The gods live upon flavours and essences drawn from the offerings of their votaries, from the flesh of animals which they kill, generally by disease, for their food; and from corn, the abstraction of which is notified by empty ears in the field, or by a deficiency in the garner. All the gods worship Boora and Tari; and those of each grade worship those above them with supplications, and with offerings of the lives of victims and the essences of other oblations. They take from men the materials for such offerings; and the demand on this score is such that the priest has often to reply to inquiries respecting the cause of death of a favourite bullock or pig, that some god or beatified soul required it for a sacrifice to Boora Pennu.

A couple of legends, selected from the endless number current in the country, will give some idea of the mode of life of the gods.

A lofty hill, called Bogah-Soro, is a kind of local Olympus on which the gods of a large district hold their councils. The God of the Hill, named Bogah Pennu, had, long ago, a son of strange habits and wayward and sullen mood, who lived entirely apart from his family, and cared for nothing but two pet animals—a horse and an elephant, upon which he lavished his affections, never quitting them day or night, and himself providing for all their wants. The God of the Hill was in despair at the unnatural fancies of his son. He one day managed to persuade him to leave his favourite creatures, in order to carry an invitation to a sister married to a neighbouring god some forty miles off, and, during his absence, transformed the horse and the elephant into two rocks, which are still to be seen on the broad flank of Bogah-Soro. The youth, on returning home, hastened straight to his beloved animals, and, when he discovered the metamorphosis, fell into a paroxysm of grief and rage. When, on demanding who had played him the trick, he learned that it was his father, he rushed into his presence frantic with sorrow and indignation,

solemnly renounced his family, and prepared to depart for ever. His father, at length, with infinite difficulty, contrived to pacify him and prevent the execution of his threat, by the solemn promise that he would give him the first horse and elephant that passed that way. The young god, accordingly, went to the road which winds by the mountain, to watch for travellers; and there he has ever since sat, sometimes on a clump of bamboos, the top of which is seen flattened and depressed by his weight; sometimes upon the branch of an old Uddah tree, which is bent like a chair. In the hope of bringing by that road travellers who might be attended by the desired animals, he has, moreover, created around the spot he haunts a most inviting shade, and has converted a clump of common wild mango trees into trees bearing fruit of delicious flavour; while upon that road travellers are always safe, both from robbers and wild beasts. A horse and an elephant, however, have never yet appeared in that wild mountain pass; but when the Rajah of Purlah Kimedy was some years ago flying through the hills in rebellion, attended by both the animals, and meant to go by it, the presence of the young god was opportunely remembered by the Khonds, and the Rajah was preserved from destruction by changing his route.

By the side of the road from Souradah to Guddapore, under a shady mango tree, is a bright and sparkling fountain which gushes from a basin of golden sand. It is called the "Brazen Fountain," and this is the accepted story of its origin and name.

The daughter of the god of an overhanging hill, one day, when carrying home a brass pitcher of water from a rivulet which runs in the dell close by, chanced to meet the young son of a god of the neighbourhood. A few words of courtesy were first exchanged, and then conversation sprang up between them; when the goddess relieved herself of the weight of her pitcher by setting it down at the foot of the tree. The conversation passed insensibly into lovemaking, which ended, in the old lyrical way, amid the flowered jungle. There the divine pair have ever since dwelt. The brass vessel of water was naturally forgotten, and became the Brazen Fountain.

SECTION II.—THE KHOND WORSHIP.

General views as to Worship.—The Priesthood.

The Khonds use neither temples nor images in their worship. They cannot comprehend, and regard as absurd, the idea of building a house in honour of a deity, or in the expectation that he will be peculiarly present in any place resembling a human habitation.

Groves kept sacred from the axe, hoar rocks, the tops of hills, fountains, and the banks of streams, are in their eyes the fittest places for worship. They regard the making, setting up, and worshipping of images of the gods, as the most signal proof of conscious removal to a hopeless distance from communion with them; a confession of utter despair of being permitted to make any direct approach to the deity, —a sense of debarment which they themselves have never felt. The Khonds, however, at one or two places where they are much mixed up with Hindus, preserve with reverence, in a house set apart for the purpose, pieces of stone or iron symbolical of some of their gods.

The Khond priesthood, like every other priesthood, lays claim to divine institution. After the primal intercourse between man and his Maker ceased, and the inferior gods were created, these were for a time the only mediators between man and Boora and Tari; but it then became necessary that there should be some men in more intimate communion with the gods, and better instructed in their will and rites than the mass of mankind could be; and, accordingly, each deity appointed a set of ministers for himself, by calling into his presence the third or moveable souls of the persons selected, and instructing them in their duties. The first priests taught to their sons or other pupils the mysteries of the gods they served, and the deities have since kept up their priesthoods by selecting for them either persons so initiated, or others at pleasure. Thus, the priesthood may be assumed by any one who chooses to assert a call to the ministry of any god, such call needing to be authenticated only by the claimant's remaining for a period varying from one night to ten or fourteen days in a languid, dreamy, confused state, the consequence of the absence of his third soul in the divine presence. And the ministry which may be thus assumed, may, with few exceptions, be laid aside at pleasure.

The Khond priests, or Jannis, affect division into two classes,—one which has given up the world and devotes itself exclusively to religious offices; and one which may still engage in every occupation excepting war. The former class are disposed to hold that they alone are qualified to perform the rites of the greater deities; but the two classes pass insensibly into one another, and many of both are seen who perform every ceremonial, with two exceptions, namely, the rite of human sacrifice—at which a great and fully instructed priest alone can officiate, and the worship of the god of war, which his own priesthood alone can conduct. And this god, it is to be observed, requires that his priests shall serve him only, while all the other deities accept divided service from their ministers.

The great Janni who gives up the world, does so absolutely, and after a somewhat striking fashion. He can possess no property of any kind; nor marry; nor, according to his rules, even look upon a woman; and he must generally appear and act as unlike other men as possible. He must live in a filthy hut, a wonder of abomination. He must not wash but with spittle; nor leave his door, save when sent for; except, perhaps, when he wanders to draw liquor from some neglected palm-tree in his neighbourhood, at the foot of which he may be found, if required, lying half drunk. He scarcely ever wears a decent cloth or blanket. He commonly carries in his hand a broken axe or bow, and has an excited, sottish, sleepy look; but his ready wit never fails him in his office. He eats such choice morsels as a piece of the grilled skin and the feet of the sacrificed buffaloes, and the heads of the sacrificed fowls; and when a deer is cut up, he gets for his share, perhaps, half the skin of the head with an ear on, and some of the hairy skimmings of the pot.

The priest who has not given up the world, looks and lives like other men. He has a wife and family, and often accumulates wealth. He eats apart from laymen, but may drink with them. The Khond priesthood have no endowments of any kind, nor is their land tilled by public labour. Their only perquisites are some of the offerings, the vessels used at certain ceremonies, and occasional harvest-offerings of good will, when the deity whom they serve has proved propitious. They have places at all public and private festivals.

The responsibilities of the public worship are generally thus divided between the priest and the secular chief. The chief, after he and the elders have duly consulted the priest respecting the will of the god, is held exclusively responsible for the due performance of the rites indicated, the test being their result. The chief has, accordingly, full dictatorial powers in everything relating to the religious ceremonies. He can order any one to perform any act connected with them, and in case of disobedience, the assembly of elders will inflict the instant penalty of the fine of a goat, a buffalo, or a hog. If any important ceremonial is not followed by the desired result, the disappointed people generally demand of the chief the cause of failure, and he is without an answer. If he attempts to blame the incompetence of the Janni to divine the will of the deity, it is replied by the tribe, that the chief is alone responsible for failing to provide a competent priest; while the Janni himself casts back the blame upon the chief with much effect. He will say, for example, that he is convinced that, at the moment of sacrificing to the God of the Chace, or, as the hunters left the village, the wife or child of the chief wept

weakness abhorrent to the hilarious god of hunting when his favour is invoked, or his bands rush joyously to the forest; or he may say he conceives the god necessarily expected a better buffalo than the wretched beast which the chief provided; or, that he fears the chief must have grudged even that beast in his heart. If there is to be a compromise, the priest and chief may declare together that they see no explanation but that some one who assisted at the ceremonial must have been wanting in faith in the gods. The end of such contests, however, very often is, the summary decree of a fine by the assembly, when a party immediately proceeds to seize a beast, pig, or sheep from the chief's farm-yard, to be forthwith eaten at a common feast.

One of the chief offices of a priest is, to discover the cause of sickness, which is held to arise, either from the decree of Dinga, from the especial displeasure of some god, or from the magical arts of an enemy. To ascertain which god is displeased, the inquiring Janui seats himself by the afflicted person and, taking some rice, divides it into small heaps, each of which he dedicates to some deity. He then hangs up a sickle balanced by a silk thread, places a few grains of rice upon each end of it, and calls upon all the gods by name. If the sickle is slightly agitated as a name is pronounced, that is an indication that a god has come and rested upon the heap dedicated to him. The priest, having declared the name of the god, lays down the sickle, and counts the grains in the heap: if the number be odd, the deity is offended; if it be even, he is pleased. In the former case, the priest becomes full of the god, shakes his head wildly with dishevelled hair and pours forth a torrent of incoherent words. The patient humbly inquires the cause of the god's displeasure, learns which of his laws has been broken or rites neglected, and instantly makes the offerings prescribed.

Individuals of the Khond priesthood occasionally possess considerable influence, but its power as a body is certainly by no means great.

The Worship of Boora Pennu, the God of Light, or Bella Pennu, God of the Sun.

The chief worship paid to Boora Pennu by his sect is at his great yearly festival, called "Salo Kallu," from the Khond word "Salo," a cattle-pen, and "Kallu," spirituous liquor,—that drunk at this feast being prepared in the cattle-pen. This festival, like that of human sacrifice among the worshippers of Tari, is held about the time of the

rice harvest, and is celebrated by every tribe, by each branch of a tribe, and by every village, as a great social rite in which every one takes a part. To the tribal feasts, representatives are sent from every village to that of the chief of the tribe. A fully instructed priest alone may conduct the ceremonial, and the festival generally lasts five days. During that period, every one eats freely of fermented rice, called "Kenna," which has a half intoxicating effect; wild dances, accompanied by bursts of stunning music, are kept up day and night; and every kind of unrestrained and licentious enjoyment is indulged in.

The story of the creation of the world and of man is recited, as in the legend already given, and, with it, the narrative of the contest between Boora and his rebel consort; of the acceptance of evil by all mankind save the few who were deified; the fall into a state of brutish degradation, and the creation of the inferior deities. In the worship of Boora Pennu alone of the gods, an offering is not absolutely required, although it is never omitted; and at the Salo Kallu, a hog, considered the most valuable victim, is sacrificed. It is hung up by the hind legs in the cattle-pen selected for the performance of the worship; and when stabbed in the neck, its blood is scattered widely around. The priest then prays to Boora to confer every kind of benefit, while each individual prays for the good which he especially desires.

Another great festival of Boora Pennu, is called the feast of "Jakri," or the "Dragging." It is held to commemorate the interference of Boora, by the agency of a minor god, who dragged forth a buffalo to be sacrificed instead of a man as an oblation to Tari. The victim at this festival is a bull buffalo which has been consecrated at its birth, and allowed to range at will over all fields and pastures until five or six years old. Upon the day of the ceremonial, several ropes are fastened to its neck and its hind legs, about fifty men seize them and rush about with the animal until it is brought up exhausted to the tree of sacrifice, when the priest declares its submission to be a miracle.

The priest then recites the following legend of the origin of the rite—to understand which it is necessary to observe, that natural tigers are believed by these Khonds to kill game only to benefit men, who generally find it but partially devoured and share it; while the tigers which kill men are either Tari, who has assumed the form of a tiger for purposes of wrath, or men, who, by the aid of a god, have assumed the form of tigers, and are called "Mleepa Tigers."

"The woman, Umbally Bylee, appeared as a tiger, and killed

game every other day, and all ate of it. There was at that time a fight between the people of Kotrika and those of Mundika. But it was private strife, carried on in womanish fashion, before the art of taking life and that of public battle were known. Umbally Bylec said, 'I will kill any one of your enemies you please.' They said to her, 'Kill so and so;' and she went as a Mleepa tiger, and killed him. Then the people placed unbounded faith in her, and said to her, 'Teach us this new knowledge, and show us the art of killing.' She replied, 'I will teach you, but thenceforward you must do one thing.' And she accordingly taught the art of Mleepa to a few, so that they practised it; and she then said, 'Now you must worship me by the sacrifice of men, or the earth shall sink beneath your feet, and water shall rise in its place, and I will abandon you.' The earth heaved terribly—as some think, from the wrath of Boora Pennu; some, in obedience to the power of the Earth Goddess. Fear filled the minds of all, and, as directed, they set up a pole beyond the village, and brought human victims, and all was prepared for the sacrifice. But now the God of Light sent a god bearing a mountain, who straightway buried Umbally Bylec therewith, and dragged forth a buffalo from the jungle and said—'Liberate the man, and sacrifice the buffalo. I will teach you the art of Mleepa in every form.' And he taught that art, and the art of public war."

The priest at the Jakri festival, amongst the numerous recitals in honour of the God of Light, gives this account of another interposition of Boora, by the agency of the deified sinless men, gods of tribes.

"The Earth Goddess, taking on herself the shape of a woman, and calling to herself a number of attendants of a like nature, came to the hill country and said to the people, 'See what hills and waste lands and jungles are here; worship me with human blood, and the whole shall become a cultivated plain, and you shall have vast increase of numbers and of wealth.' She thus tempted the people, there being no greater temptation to hold out. Then the God of Light, beholding her proceedings, sent Mahang Meru, and Kopung Meru, Adi Ponga, and Boru Ponga, Gods of Tribes, to counteract her. We had prepared every thing for the sacrifice of a man, when the agents of Boora wounded with the forked axe two of the attendants of Tari. The woman, Umbally Bylec, seeing the hand of the God of Light, fled instantly with the wounded towards Kourmingia. In that tract there was a great lake, and an island in the midst, where they settled, and there they fed on greens and other mud produce. We followed to attack them, but could not on account of the water, and returned." Then is related the fall into the great sin of human

sacrifice—"Now Tari made a way for the waters of the lake through the hills and it became dry; and Tari said to the people, 'See the power of my divinity! worship me with the blood I require;' and the people believed in her power, and performed the required worship, and they became savage like beasts, until by intercourse with us, as in receiving wives, they became civilized."

The priest also generally recites at the feast of "Jakri," as at that of Salo Kallu, the history of the conquest of the Earth Goddess by Boora. He then offers up prayers for every benefit, and finally slaughters the buffalo at the sacrificial tree, while every form of wild festivity,—eating, drinking, frantic dancing, and loud music,—is kept up for at least two days.

At the commencement of the ploughing season, the following worship is performed to Boora. The representative of the first ancestor of the tribe, whether he occupies the position of its actual chief or not, goes out into a field with the priest, who invokes Boora and all the other gods, offers to Boora a fowl with rice and arrack, and utters the following prayer:—

"O, Boora Pennu! and O, Tari Pennu, and all other gods! (naming them). You, O, Boora Pennu! created us, giving us the attribute of hunger; thence corn food was necessary to us, and thence were necessary producing fields. You gave us every seed, and ordered us to use bullocks, and to make ploughs, and to plough. Had we not received this art, we might still indeed have existed upon the natural fruits of the jungle and the plain, but, in our destitution, we could not have performed your worship. Do you, remembering this,—the connexion betwixt our wealth and your honour,—grant the prayers which we now offer. In the morning, we rise before the light to our labour, carrying the seed. Save us from the tiger, and the snake, and from stumbling-blocks. Let the seed appear earth to the eating birds, and stones to the eating animals of the earth. Let the grain spring up suddenly like a dry stream that is swelled in a night. Let the earth yield to our ploughshares as wax melts before hot iron. Let the baked clods melt like hailstones. Let our ploughs spring through the furrows with a force like the recoil of a bent tree. Let there be such a return from our seed, that so much shall fall and be neglected in the fields, and so much on the roads in carrying it home, that, when we shall go out next year to sow, the paths and the fields shall look like a young cornfield. From the first times we have lived by your favour. Let us continue to receive it. Remember that the increase of our produce is the increase of your worship, and that its diminution must be the diminution of your rites."

The following story of a religious war undertaken by the sect of Boora against that of Tari, is a specimen of a large class of Khond legends recited at the festivals in honour of Boora.

Long ago, the people of Boora Pennu resolved, for his honour, to make war upon the tribes which worship Tari with human sacrifices. The followers of Boora chose for their enterprise the month of the year in which human victims are chiefly offered, and their army moved into Deegee, in the country of the people of Tari. Difficulties, however, arose in another quarter, which obliged them first to break up their force, and eventually to postpone their undertaking until the corresponding month of the next year; but they resolved to maintain their ground in Deegee, by leaving there the two great leaders named Dorgoma and Kitchima, with a small party. The tribes which offer human sacrifices then took counsel together, and determined that it was absolutely necessary to destroy that detachment with its leaders; for, said they, "If they shall be permitted to remain, ere the return of the invading army, they will have learned all our secret plans, and become perfectly acquainted with our country." The people of the Earth Goddess accordingly assembled a vast host, every man of which carried a load of ashes, while the women attended with provisions, and they appeared like a swarm of bees upon the hills above the small party of the people of the God of Light. The two leaders of that party then said to their men, "We two are here for the glory of the God of Light, and by the order of the tribes who are parties to this enterprise, and we must live or die. But no such obligation lies upon you. You are at perfect liberty to save your lives." Of their men, a few then returned home, and a part retired to some distance, while the rest declared that they would die with their chiefs. These then prayed thus to their god:—"O, God of Light! You prevailed in the contest with the Earth Goddess,—this is our first ground of hope. Again, when the Earth Goddess and her ministers came to delude us into her worship, you sent the divine four, who drove her from our country; this is our second ground of hope. We have come here to establish your power, and if we shall perish, your authority will be diminished, your past superiority will be forgotten. Oh, give us arms!" As they prayed, a great wind rushed from a cavern in the side of the hill called Oldura, and scattered to the four quarters of the earth the ashes which the host of the Earth Goddess had brought to overwhelm the band of Boora Pennu. In evidence of these events, the wind roars from that cavern to this day; while the brave chiefs and the brave men who stood by them, obtained possession of Deegee, and that rich tract is now divided amongst five or six tribes, their descendants.

With respect to the projected invasion,—it was determined by the triumphant people of the God of Light, after mature deliberation, to forego it. It was considered, that no good could possibly arise from attacking the people of the Earth Goddess, “for—they are like the red ants—however much you may cherish them, they will continue to sting you, while, if you kill them, what is gained?”

I may observe here, that the Khond tribes of the sect of Boora Pennu which practise female infanticide, allege his permissive sanction for that custom, given on the last occasion on which he communicated directly with mankind. They say that Boora then said to men—“Behold! from making one feminine being, what have I and the whole world suffered. You are at liberty to bring up only as many women as you can manage.”

The Worship of Tari Pennu, or Bera Pennu, the Earth Goddess.

In the worship paid to Tari Pennu by her sect, the chief rite is human sacrifice. It is celebrated as a public oblation by tribes, branches of tribes, or villages, both at social festivals held periodically, and when special occasions demand extraordinary propitiations. And besides these social offerings, the rite is performed by individuals to avert the wrath of Tari from themselves and their families.

The periodical common sacrifices are generally so arranged by tribes and divisions of tribes, that each head of a family is enabled, at least once a year, to procure a shred of flesh for his fields, and usually about the time when his chief crop is laid down. When a tribe is composed of several branches, the victims for the fixed offerings are provided by the branches in turn, their cost being defrayed by contributions borne by each person according to his means. And such contributions are imperative, not only upon members of the tribe, but also upon persons of every race and creed that may be permanently associated with it,—as, through receiving its protection, or by employment in it, or by possessing land within its boundaries, the express tenure of which is the discharge of a share of the public religious burdens.

Special common offerings by a tribe are considered necessary upon the occurrence of an extraordinary number of deaths by disease, or by tigers; or should very many die in childbirth; or should the flocks or herds suffer largely from disease, or from wild beasts; or should the greater crops threaten to fail: while the occurrence of any marked calamity to the families of the chiefs, whose fortunes are regarded as the principal index to the disposition of Tari towards their tribes, is

held to be a token of wrath which cannot be too speedily averted. And, that victims may be readily forthcoming when such special occasions for sacrifice arise, whoever then gives one for public use receives its value, and is, besides, exempted from contribution to the three next public offerings.

Individuals make the great oblation when signal calamities fall upon themselves or their families. Should, for example, a child, when watching his father's flock, be carried off by a tiger, supposed to be Tari, the parents fly to the priest, bring him to their house, dash vessels of water over him, seat him in his wet garments, and set a cup of water before him. Into it he dips his fingers thrice, smells them, sneezes, is filled with the deity, and speaks wildly in her name. Should he then declare that Tari had inflicted the blow, offended by her neglected worship, he will doubtless add that an immediate victim is demanded; and the father of the house will make a vow of sacrifice, to be redeemed, at whatever cost, within the year.

Victims are called "Meriah" by the Oriyas; in the Khond language, "Tokki," or "Keddi." Persons of any race or age, and of either sex, are acceptable victims,—except, I believe, Brahmins who have been invested with the thread, and are thence, perhaps, considered already devoted to the gods.

A victim is acceptable to Tari only if he has been acquired by the Khonds by purchase; or was born a victim,—that is, the son of a victim father; or if he was devoted as a child to the gods, by his father or natural guardian. The principle is, that the victim must be, either naturally or by purchase, the full property of the person who devotes him; and thence, should the full right of that person be interrupted or weakened in any way,—as, for example, by the escape of a victim to an asylum amongst the sect of Boora, or by his being carried off by force, or his being delivered up to a British magistrate,—his acceptableness is at an end, and it cannot be renewed unless full property in him be re-acquired, and he be again dedicated by a Khond.

Victims are generally supplied to the Khonds by men of the two races called "Panwa" or "Dombango," and "Gahinga,"—apparently aborigines like themselves, and attached in small numbers to almost every Khond village, for the discharge of this and other peculiar offices. The Panwas purchase the victims without difficulty, or kidnap them in the low country, from the poorer classes of Hindus, procuring them either to the order of the Khonds, or on speculation; and they, moreover, constantly sell as victims their own children, and children of whom, as relatives, they are the guardians. Khonds,

when in distress, as in times of famine, also frequently sell their children for victims,—considering the beatification of their souls certain, and their death for the benefit of mankind, the most honourable possible. An intelligent witness informed me that he once chanced to see a Panwa load another with execrations, and finally spit in his face, because he had sold for a victim his own child, whom the former wished to have married. A party of Khonds who saw the proceeding immediately pressed forward to console the seller of the child, saying, “Your child has died that all the world may live, and the Earth Goddess herself will wipe that spittle from your face.”

The Meriah is brought blindfolded to the village by the procurer, and is lodged in the house of the mullicko or chief, in fetters if grown up, at liberty if a child. He is regarded during life as a consecrated being, and, if at large, is eagerly welcomed at every threshold. Victims are not unfrequently permitted to attain to years of maturity, and should one then have intercourse with the wife or daughter of a Khond, thankfulness is expressed to the deity for the distinction. To a Meriah youth who has thus grown up, a wife is generally given, herself also usually a victim, and a portion of land and of farm stock is presented with her. The family which springs from their union is held to be born to the condition of the father, and although the sacrifice of lives so bound to existence is often postponed, and sometimes foregone, yet, should propitiations not easy to be afforded be required, the whole household is immolated without hesitation. And when the victim parents of a family who have been spared happen to belong to different tribes, as soon as they cease to have offspring, they are separated and sent to their respective tribes, each accompanied by half of the children.

The escape of victims from their fate is comparatively rare, for several reasons. Except when under distinct apprehensions of death, victims are naturally loath to leave persons who treat them with extreme affection, mingled with deference; moreover, each victim is easily persuaded that where there are so many, and he is so much loved, his turn to die is not at hand. Every victim knows, also, that if he flies and is retaken, he will henceforth be kept in fetters, and will certainly be the first offering; and that his recapture is exceedingly probable, because, while every other person must be received as a sacred guest, a victim is necessarily restored to his owner by all the tribes of the sect of the Earth Goddess. It is, besides, assiduously impressed upon and believed by victims, that, should they escape from their proper fate, they must perish miserably by disease; while, at

the same time, they are convinced that they will be beatified immediately after death by sacrifice.

When a sacrifice is to be celebrated by a tribe, or a portion of one, the following preliminary observances are gone through. Ten or twelve days before the time appointed for the rite, the victim is devoted by cutting off his hair, which, until then, is kept unshorn. When a village receives notice of the day fixed for the sacrifice, all who intend to take part in it immediately perform the following ceremony, called "Bringa," by which they vow flesh to Tari. All wash their clothes, and go out of the village with the Janni, who invokes all the deities, and thus addresses Tari Pennu :—

"Oh, Tari Pennu! you may have thought that we forgot your commands after sacrificing such a one (naming the last victim), but we forgot you not. We shall now leave our homes in your service, regardless of our enemies, of the good or the ill will of the gods beyond our boundary, of danger from those who by magical arts become Mleepa tigers, and of danger to our women from other men. We shall go forth on your service. Do you save us from suffering evil while engaged in it. We go to perform your rites; and if any thing shall befall us, men will hereafter distrust you, and say, you care not for your votaries. We are not satisfied with our wealth; but what we do possess we owe to you, and for the future, we hope for the fulfilment of our desires. We intend to go on such a day to such a village, to bring human flesh for you. We trust to attain our desires through this service. Forget not the oblation."

No one may be excluded from the festivals of human sacrifice, which are declared to be held "for all mankind." They are generally attended by a large concourse of people of both sexes, and continue for three days, which are passed in the indulgence of every form of wild riot, and generally of gross excess. The first day and night are spent in drunken feasting and frantic dances, under excitement which the goddess is believed to inspire, and which it would be impious to resist. Upon the second morning, the victim, who has been kept fasting from the preceding evening, is carefully washed, dressed in a new garment, and led forth from the village in solemn procession, with music and dancing. The Meriah grove, a clump of deep and shadowy forest trees, in which the mango, the bur, the dammar, and the peepul generally prevail, usually stands at a short distance from the village by a rivulet which is called the Meriah stream. It is kept sacred from the axe, and is avoided by the Khonds as haunted ground. Upon the second day, a post is fixed in the centre of the grove, and in some places between two plants of the sankissar shrub.

The victim is seated at the foot of the post, bound back to it by the priest. He is then anointed with oil, ghee, and turmeric, and adorned with flowers; and a species of reverence which it is not easy to distinguish from adoration is paid to him throughout the day. Infinite contention now arises to obtain the slightest relic of his person; a particle of the turmeric paste with which he is smeared, or a drop of his spittle, being esteemed, especially by the women, of sovereign virtue. In some districts, instead of being thus bound in a grove, the victim is exposed in or near the village upon a couch, after being led in procession round the place of sacrifice. And, in some parts of Goomsur where this practice prevails, small rude images of beasts and birds, in clay and wood, are made in great numbers for this festival, and stuck on poles,—a practice, the origin or meaning of which is not at all clear. Upon the third morning, the victim is refreshed with a little milk and palm sago, while the licentious feast which has been carried on with little intermission during the night, is loudly renewed. About noon, the orgies terminate, and the assemblage proceeds with stunning shouts and pealing music to consummate the sacrifice.

As the victim must not suffer bound, nor, on the other hand, make any show of resistance, the bones of his arms, and, if necessary, those of his legs, are sometimes broken; but in every case of which I have heard the details, all such cruelty has been avoided by producing stupefaction with opium.

Instances are related of the escape of the victim at the moment of immolation, from the omission of such precautions. About fifty years ago, a victim who had been permitted to grow up to manhood in the district of Rodungiah, was there led out to sacrifice. The preliminary ceremonies had been gone through, and an intoxicated crowd expected their completion, when the youth said to the chief, "In suffering this death I become a god, and I do not resist my fate; let me, then, partake with you in the joy of the festival." The chief assented, and the young man called for a bowl and drank, when the crowd contended fiercely for the remains of the liquor which his lips had consecrated. He then danced and sang amidst the throng until the sacrifice could be no longer delayed, when he requested the chief to lend him his axe and his bow, that he might once more join his companions armed like a free man in the dance. He received the weapons, and when the chief was busied with the priest in preparing for the last rite, the youth approached him in the dance and clove his skull. He then dashed across the Salki, a deep and foaming torrent, and fled down the ghaut to the keep of Kuli Bissye, of Goomsur.

A furious crowd of worshippers followed and demanded his surrender; but the Bissye contrived to parley with them until he could collect a small party of followers who secretly bore away the fugitive, whose descendants still live.

After the preparations which have been described, the following remarkable invocations, legends, and dialogues are gone through,—the part of the victim in the latter, and occasionally also the parts of the chief and the priest, being sustained, in a semi-dramatic way, by the best impersonators of the characters that may be found. The form of words in this long ritual, as in all other Khond rituals, it need scarcely be repeated, is not fixed, but admits of endless variation. I give the fullest one in my possession, exactly as it was told to me.

The priest, having called upon the Earth Goddess, and upon all the other deities by name, first recites this invocation:—

“O, Tari Pennu! when we omitted to gratify you with your desired food, you forgot kindness to us. We possess but little and uncertain wealth. Increase it, and we shall be able often to repeat this rite. We do not excuse our fault. Do you forgive it, and prevent it in future by giving us increased wealth. We here present to you your food. Let our houses be so filled with the noise of children that our voices cannot be heard by those without. Let our cattle be so numerous that neither fish, frog, nor worm may live in the drinking ponds beneath their trampling feet. Let our cattle so crowd our pastures that no vacant spot shall be visible to those who look at them from afar. Let our folds be so filled with the soil of our sheep that we may dig in them as deep as a man’s height without meeting a stone. Let our swine so abound that our home fields shall need no ploughs but their rooting snouts. Let our poultry be so numerous as to hide the thatch of our houses. Let the stones at our fountains be worn hollow by the multitude of our brass vessels. Let our children have it but for a tradition that in the days of their forefathers there were tigers and snakes. Let us have but one care, the yearly enlargement of our houses to store our increasing wealth. Then we shall multiply your rites. We know that this is your desire. Give us increase of wealth, and we will give you increase of worship.”

Now every man and woman asks for what each wishes. One asks for a good husband, another for a good wife, another that his arrows may be made sure, &c.

Then the Janni says—“Umbally Bylee went to cut vegetables with a hook. She cut her finger. The earth was then soft mud, but when the blood-drops fell it became firm. She said, ‘Behold the good change! cut up my body to complete it.’ The people answered,

‘If we spill our own blood we shall have no descendants. We will obtain victims elsewhere. Will not the Dombo and the Gahi sell their children when in distress? and shall we not give our wealth for them?’ and they prayed thus:—

“‘May the gods send the exhausted Dombo, his feet pierced with thorns, to our door! May the gods give us wealth.’

“Their prayer was answered. They procured and sacrificed a victim. The whole earth became firm, and they obtained increase of wealth. The next year many victims came for sale, and the people thanked the gods, saying—‘You have sent us victims, and have given us wealth.’ Thenceforward the world has been happy and rich, both in the portion which belongs to the Khonds, and the portion which belongs to Rajahs.

“And society, with its relations of father and mother, and wife and child, and the bonds between ruler and subject arose. And there came into use cows, bullocks, and buffaloes, sheep, and poultry. Then also came into use the trees and the hills, and the pastures and grass, and irrigated and dry fields, and the seeds suitable to the hills and to the valleys, and iron and ploughshares, and arrows and axes, and the juice of the palm-tree, and love between the sons and daughters of the people, making new households. In this manner did the necessity for the rite of sacrifice arise.

“Then, also, did hunting begin. A man brought in a rat, a snake, and a lizard, and inquired if they were fit to eat. Then the Earth Goddess came and rested on the Janni, and said to him, ‘Give names to all the wild animals, distinguishing these that are fit and those that are unfit for use, and let men go to the jungles and the hills, and kill the sambur and spotted deer, and all other game, with arrows and with poison.’ And men went to hunt.

“While hunting, they one day found the people of Darungabadi and Laddabarri (tribes of the Souradah Zemindary, adjacent to Goomsur, which do not offer human sacrifices) offering sacrifice. Their many curved axes opened the bowels of the victims, which flowed out. They who went to the hunt, said—‘This ceremony is ill performed. The goddess will not remain with you.’ And the goddess left these awkward sacrificers, and came with our ancestors. These people now cut trees only. The deity preferred the sacrifice at the hands of our forefathers, and thenceforth the whole burden of the worship of the world has lain upon us, and we now discharge it.

“Tari Pennu in this way came with our ancestors. But they at first knew only the form of worship necessary for themselves, not that necessary for the whole world. And there was still much fear;

and there were but few children, and there were deadly snakes and tigers, and thorns piercing the feet. They then called upon the Janni, to inquire the will of the goddess, by the suspended sickle. He said, 'We practise the rite as it was first instituted, worshipping the first gods. What fault, what sin is ours?' The goddess replied—'In a certain month, wash your garments with ashes, or with stones; make kenna; purchase a child; feed him in every house; pour oil on him and on his garments, and ask for his spittle; take him into the plain, when the Earth Goddess demands him; let the Janni set him up; call all the world; let friendship reign; call upon the names of the first people; cut the victim in pieces; let each man place a shred of the flesh in his fields, in his grain store, and in his yard, and then kill a buffalo for food, and give a feast, with drinking and dancing to all. Then see how many children will be born to you, how much game will be yours, what crops, how few shall die. All things will become right.'

"We obeyed the goddess, and assembled the people. Then the victim child wept, and reviled, and uttered curses. All the people rejoiced, except those with whom the child had dwelt, and the Janni. They were overwhelmed with grief; their sorrows prevailed entirely over their expectations of benefit, and they did not give either their minds or their faith to the gods. 'The world,' said they, 'rejoices, we are filled with despair;' and they demanded of the deity, 'Why have you instituted this miserable heart-rending rite?' Then the Earth Goddess came again and rested upon the Janni, and said, 'Away with this grief. Your answer is this: when the victim shall weep, say to him,—Blame not us, blame your parents who sold you. What fault is ours? The Earth Goddess demands a sacrifice. It is necessary to the world. The tiger begins to rage, the snake to poison, fevers and every pain afflict the people; shall you alone be exempt from evil? When you shall have given repose to the world, you will become a god, by the will of the gods.'"

Then the victim answers—"Have you no enemies, no vile and useless child, no debtor to another tribe who compels you for his debts to sell your lands; no coward, who in time of battle skulks with another tribe? Have you none of these to seek out and sacrifice?"

The Janni replies—"We have acted upon quite different views. We did not kidnap you on the road, nor while gathering sticks in the jungle, nor when at play. The souls of those whom you would have us sacrifice, can never become gods. They are only fit to perish by epilepsy, falling in the fire, or by ulcers, or other dread diseases.

Such sacrifices would be of no avail. To obtain you, we cleared the hill and the jungle, fearless of the tiger and the snake. We stinted ourselves to fill your parents, and gave them our brass vessels; and they gave you to us as freely as one gives light from a fire. Blame them! Blame them!"

The Victim.—"And did I share the price which my parents received? Did I agree to the sale? You now tell me this. No one remembers his mother's womb, nor the taste of his mother's milk; and I considered you my parents. Where there was delicate food in the village, I was fed. When the child of any one suffered, he grieved; but if I suffered, the whole village grieved. When did you conceive this fraud, this wickedness to destroy me? You, O my father, and you,—and you,—and you,—O my fathers! do not destroy me."

The Mullicko, or Chief of the village in which the victim was kept, or his representative, now says, "This usage is delivered down to us from the first people of the first time. They practised it. The people of the middle time omitted it. The earth became soft. An order re-established the rite. Oh, child, we must destroy you. Forgive us. You will become a god."

The Victim.—"Of this your intention I knew nothing; I thought I was to pass my life with you. I assisted to build houses, and to clear fields for my children. See! there are the palm-trees I planted. There is the mowa tree I planted. There is the public building on which I laboured—its palings still white in your sight. I planted the tobacco which you are now eating. Look behind you! The cows and the sheep which I have tended look lovingly at me. All this time you gave me no hint of my intended fate. I toiled with you at every work with my whole mind. Had I known of this doom, I had still toiled, but with different feelings. Let the whole burden of my soul's grief, as I remember the past, lie upon you."

The Chief.—"You are about to become a god. We shall profit by your fate. We cannot argue with you. Do you not recollect that, when your father came to claim your uncompleted price, you snatched up a shining brass vessel; that we said, 'That is your father's,' and you threw it at him, and ran away amongst the sheep? Do you not recollect the day on which we cut your hair, devoting you to sacrifice? And do you not recollect that when many were sick, and the Janni brought the divining sickle, he declared 'The earth demands a victim!'"

Then several persons around say, "I should have told you, and I, and I;" and several give answers such as—"I thought of our hard

labour to acquire you, which had been wasted, had you escaped from us;" and,—“ You might have known all well.”

The Victim.—“ It is true I did observe something of this; but your aged mothers, and your wives, and your beautiful children, my brothers and sisters, assured me that you were humane, and would never kill one so useful and so beautiful as I. ‘ They will rather,’ said your mothers and children, ‘ remembering your acts and your ways, sell these fields, and these trees, and that tobacco, to procure a substitute.’ This I believed, and I was happy and laboured with you.”

The Chief.—“ We cannot satisfy you. Ask your father, who is present. I satisfied him with my favourite cattle, my valuable brass vessels, and my sheep, and with silken and woollen cloths, and axes. A bow and arrows, not four days old, I gave to his fancy. Your parents, forgetting your beauty, forgetting the pleasure of cherishing you, turned their hearts to my cattle and my brass vessels, and gave you away. Upbraid them. Heap imprecations upon them. We will curse them with you, imprecating upon them—that all their children may be similarly sacrificed. That they may lose, within the year, the price for which they sold you. That they may have a miserable and forlorn old age, lingering childless and unfed. That when they die in their empty house, there may be no one to inform the village for two days, so that, when they are carried out to be burned, all shall hold their nostrils. That their own souls may afterwards animate victims given to hard-hearted men, who will not even answer their death-plaints consolingly. Curse them thus, and we will curse them with you.”

The Victim will now turn to the Janni, saying—“ And why did you conceal my fate? When I dwelt with the Mullicko, like a flower, were you blind, or dumb, or how were you possessed, that you never said, ‘ Why do you cherish, so lovingly, this child—this child, who must die for the world?’ Then had I known my doom and leapt from a precipice and died. Your reason for concealment—living as you do apart from men, is—that you thought of yourself. ‘ I am great. The whole world attends on my ministrations.’ But, world, look upon him! What miscreant eyes! What a villainous head, with hair like a sumbully tree! And see how enraged he is! What a jabber he makes! What a body he has got, starved upon worship which depends upon men’s griefs!—A body anointed with spittle for oil! Look, O world. Look, and tell! See, how he comes at me, leaping like a toad!”

The Janni replies—“ Child! why speak thus? I am the friend of the gods; the first in their sight. Listen to me. I did not per-

suade your father or your mother to sell you. I did not desire the Mullickos to sell their fields to acquire your price. Your parents sold you. These Mullickos bought you. They consulted me, inquiring, 'How may this child become blessed?' The hour is not yet over. When it is past, how grateful will you be to me! You, as a god, will gratefully approve and honour me."

The Victim.—"My father begot me; the Mullickos bought me, my life is devoted, and all will profit by my death. But you, O Janni! who make nothing of my sufferings, take to yourself all the virtue of my sacrifice. You shall, however, in no respect profit by it."

The Janni.—"The Deity created the world, and every thing that lives; and I am his minister and representative. God made you, the Mullicko bought you, and I sacrifice you. The virtue of your death is not yours, but mine; but it will be attributed to you through me."

The Victim.—"My curse be upon the man who, while he did not share in my price, is first at my death. Let the world ever be upon one side while he is on the other. Let him, destitute and without stored food, hope to live only through the distresses of others. Let him be the poorest wretch alive. Let his wife and children think him foul. I am dying. I call upon all—upon those who bought me, on those whose food I have eaten, on those who are strangers here, on all who will now share my flesh—let all curse the Janni to the gods!"

The Janni.—"Dying creature, do you contend with me? I shall not allow you a place among the gods."

The Victim.—"In dying I shall become a god, then will you know whom you serve. Now do your will on me."

The acceptable place of sacrifice is discovered the previous night, by persons who are sent to probe the ground about the village with sticks in the dark, and mark the first deep chink as the spot indicated by the Earth Goddess. There, in the morning, a short post is inserted; around it four larger posts are usually set up, and, in the midst of these the victim is placed. The priest, assisted by the chief and one or two of the elders of the village, now takes the branch of a green tree cleft several feet down the centre. They insert the victim within the rift, fitting it, in some districts to his chest, in others to his throat. Cords are then twisted round the open extremity of the stake which the priest, aided by his assistants, strives with his whole force to close; he then wounds the victim slightly with his axe, when the crowd throws itself upon the sacrifice and strips the flesh from the bones, leaving untouched the head and intestines.

The most careful precautions are taken lest the offering should suffer desecration by the touch or even the near approach of any persons save the worshippers of the Earth Goddess, or by that of any animal. During the night after the sacrifice, strong parties watch over the remains of the victim; and, next day, the priest and the Mullickos consume them, together with a whole sheep, on a funeral pile, when the ashes are scattered over the fields, or are laid as paste over the houses and granaries. And then two formalities are observed, which are held indispensable to the virtue of the sacrifice. The first is that of presenting to the father of the victim, or to the person who sold or made him over to the Khonds for sacrifice, or the representative of such person, a bullock, called the "Dhuly," in final satisfaction of all demands. The second formality is the sacrifice of a bullock for a feast, at which the following prayer is offered up.

After invoking all the gods, the priest says:—"O Tari Pennu! You have afflicted us greatly; have brought death to our children and our bullocks, and failure to our corn;—have afflicted us in every way. But we do not complain of this. It is your desire only to compel us to perform your due rites, and then to raise up and enrich us. We were anciently enriched by this rite; all around us are great from it; therefore, by our cattle, our flocks, our pigs, and our grain, we procured a victim and offered a sacrifice. Do you now enrich us. Let our herds be so numerous that they cannot be housed; let children so abound that the care of them shall overcome their parents—as shall be seen by their burned hands; let our heads ever strike against brass pots innumerable hanging from our roofs; let the rats form their nests of shreds of scarlet cloth and silk; let all the kites in the country be seen in the trees of our village, from beasts being killed there every day. We are ignorant of what it is good to ask for. You know what is good for us. Give it to us!"

When the victim is cut to pieces, the persons who have been deputed by each village to bring its share of the flesh instantly return home. There the village priest and every one else who has staid at home fast rigidly until their arrival. The bearer of the flesh carries it rolled up in leaves of the googlut tree, and when he approaches the village, lays it out on a cushion formed of a handful of grass, and then deposits it in the place of public meeting, to give assurance to all of its arrival. The fasting heads of families then go with their priest to receive the flesh. He takes and divides it into two portions, and subdivides one of these into as many shares as there are heads of families present. He then says to the Earth Goddess—

"O Tari Pennu! our village offered such a person as a sacrifice, and divided the flesh among all the people in honour of the gods. Now, such a village has offered such a one, and has sent us flesh for you. Be not displeased with the quantity, we could only give them as much. If you will give us wealth we will repeat the rite." The Janni then seats himself on the ground, scrapes a hole in it, and taking one of the two portions into which he divided the flesh, places it in the hole, but with his back turned, and without looking. Then each man adds a little earth to bury it, and the Janni pours water on the spot from a hill-gourd. Each head of a house now rolls his shred of flesh in leaves, and all raise a shout of exultation at the work done. Then a wild excited battle takes place with stones and mud, in the course of which a considerable number of heads are broken, and all go to the house in which the young men of the village sleep, and there renew the fight and knock down the whole or part of the house. Finally, each man goes and buries his particle of flesh in his favourite field, placing it in the earth behind his back without looking. And here may be noticed the idea which secures the distribution of the flesh of every victim to the greatest possible extent,—that, instead of advantage arising to any one from the possession of a large share of the flesh, all are benefited by a sacrifice in proportion to the number of shares into which the flesh is subdivided. After burying the flesh, all return home and eat and drink, in some places holding a common feast, while in others each family eats apart. For three days thereafter, no house is swept, and, in one district, strict silence is observed, while fire may not be given, nor wood cut, nor strangers be received. Upon the fourth day, the people reassemble at the place of sacrifice, slaughter and feast on a buffalo, and leave its inedible portions as a gratification to the spirit of the Meriah.

The ceremonial of human sacrifice is finally completed by the offering of a hog to the Earth Goddess, a year after its performance, by the village which sacrificed. This offering is called the "Valka," and the invocation to Tari is simply this—"O, Tari Pennu, up to this time we have been engaged in your worship, which we commenced a year ago. Now the rites are completed. Let us receive the benefit."

Such are the rites and observances which, in some districts, make up the worship of the Earth Goddess. But they are subject to many variations. Thus, in one tract the victim is put to death slowly by fire. A low stage is formed sloping on either side like a roof; upon it the victim is placed, his limbs wound round with cords, so as to confine but not prevent his struggles. Fires are lighted, and hot

brands are applied, so as to make the victim roll alternately up and down the slopes of the stage. He is thus tortured as long as he is capable of moving or uttering cries; it being believed that the favour of the Earth Goddess, especially in respect of the supply of rain, will be in proportion to the quantity of tears which may be extracted. The victim is next day cut to pieces.

The sect of the Earth Goddess often attempt to introduce secretly fragments of the flesh of human victims into the tracts inhabited by the sect of Boora. One object in so doing is, to excite the wrath of Boora towards his followers for their failure to prevent the pollution; but some of the sect of Tari, at least, hope also, by depositing the flesh at the shrines of some of the local deities, to induce in them a taste for the horrid food, and, by its gratification, to seduce them from their rivals. Whatever may be the true theory, both sects are agreed as to the result effected in the following case. In Cattingia, the people of which are of the sect of Boora, there are spots where certain salts efflorescing upon the soil attract the deer and other wild animals in great numbers, so that they become an easy prey to the huntsman. The people of the neighbouring tract of Guddapore, who offer human sacrifices, placed in one of the most valuable of those spots a shred of human flesh for the guardian deity. Since that time, no man of Cattingia has ever seen game there, while no huntsman of Guddapore has ever failed to find it.

The people of Boora Pennu regard with horror the impurity of the country which is polluted with human blood. When they visit it between the seasons of sowing and reaping, they may not use its fire, but must obtain pure fire by friction; nor may they use the waters of its pools or fountains until they have first fixed their arrows in them, symbolizing their conquest. In like manner, they may not sleep in a house until they have snatched and burnt a few straws from its thatch, to symbolize its conquest with conflagration. Death is believed to be often the penalty of the neglect of these precautions.

The worship of the First Class of Inferior Gods.

I shall now describe the worship of the first class of inferior gods sprung from Boora and Tari. Three of these deities preside over the functions of nature and the arts connected with agriculture, the fourth is God of the Chace, the fifth is the God of War, the sixth is the God of Boundaries, the seventh, to whom no worship appears to be addressed, being the Judge of the Dead. The rituals which I give, are generally

those of the sect of the Earth Goddess, which differ in no material point, save where distinctive tenets are introduced, from those of the sect of Boora.

Pidzu Pennu, the God of Rain.

Pidzu Pennu, the God of Rain, being necessarily regarded as the great cause of vegetation, his worship is in practice nearly identified with that of Boorbi Pennu, the Goddess of New Vegetation; and his rites are generally, if not always, performed at her shrine, a stone or a tree near every village.

When it is resolved to invoke the God of Rain, the elders, having made their arrangements with the priest, proceed through the village calling out "Vessels, ho! Vessels, ho!" when vessels of arrack are immediately brought out from every house. These are carried by parties of ten or twelve to the tree of Boorbi Pennu. Pidzu Pennu then comes upon the Janni, the offerings are deposited under the tree, and all seat themselves. A great Janni, with two smaller priests and some of the principal elders, then perform the following worship apart from the crowd.

The Janni first calls on Boora and Tari, and then on Pidzu Pennu, and on all the other gods,—as Samudra Pennu, the God of the Sea, Loha Pennu, the God of War, and Suundi Pennu, the God of Boundaries,—to make up, as it is considered most important to do, a strong assembly of the peers of Pidzu Pennu, in the hope of their exerting the influence of their opinion upon him. The priest then says—"O, Pidzu Pennu, hear us! When have we come short in our service? In what have we diminished ancient usage? We say not that we have not failed towards you; but if we have failed unconsciously, it was your part to have remembered the constant service of our fathers, and to have intimated to us our fault, not to have visited us thus in wrath. Behold your peers, Loha Pennu, &c. We have worshipped them even as we have worshipped you. Their favour has not diminished towards us.

"O Pidzu Pennu! is it that you have given your daughter in marriage to the son of some god who is hostile to us, or have made his daughter your son's bride, and under his influence injure us? We men cannot comprehend your divine thoughts. But your fellow gods, Loha Pennu, Pitterri Pennu, Soro Pennu, &c., know them and judge them. We know not, we cannot know your counsels; but we pray you to remember,—to reflect that, if you shall not give us water, half our land must remain unploughed; that the seed in the ground will

rot ; that we and our children must perish for want of food ; that our cattle must die for want of pasture ; that the sambur, the spotted deer, the wild hog, and all other game will quit our country, seeking other haunts. We pray of you to remember all this ; and that, should you hereafter, when it is too late, relent, either from pity towards us, or from desiring your own food and worship, or from doubting of your reception,—should you, when we are no more, seek the worship of another village,—we pray you to reflect how little any gift of water will then avail, when there shall be left neither man, nor cattle, nor seed. Therefore, we now address to you these entreaties, while we also beseech all of you, ye assembled gods, to aid and enforce our prayer to Pidzu Pennu, taking to your hearts all we have said.

“ O, Pidzu Pennu ! for you we have brought eggs and arrack, and rice, and a sheep. Be pleased to eat, and to entertain these assembled gods, receiving from them all the credit due for the goodness of the feast. O, give us abundant rain, enough to melt the hill-tops. Go and fetch water for us, if need be, by force or fraud, from the stores of your friends the gods of rain. Bring it in brass vessels, and in hollow gourds, and resting on the sky above our land, pour the water down on it through your sieve, until the sambur, unable to live in the forests, shall seek shelter in our houses, and till the soil of the mountains shall be washed into our vallies. Strip off all old leaves and bring out new. Let the vegetation be such, that shoots springing from the newly-planted melons shall follow our footsteps, and let it be of such strength that our cooking-pots shall burst next year from the force of the swelling rice. Let the bamboo-sprouts shoot out rapidly. Let all the neighbouring tribes come to buy rice of us, and let them alone experience the pains of surfeit. Let there be such a gathering of the beasts of the chase in our green and favoured country, that our axes shall be blunt with cutting them up. But do you, moreover, recollect that we cannot go out in the falling floods. Then do you don your hat, and laying your stick over your shoulder, guard our unenclosed fields from both the wild animals and the tame cattle. Let our full fountains gush upwards. Do thus, and we will next year provide eggs, fowls, a sheep, and liquor for a feast at least equal to this, for the maintenance of your character for hospitality with your brother gods.”

They then kill the sheep, but may not eat it. Its flesh must be given to Soondis, or Gonds, if any be present ; if not, it must be left on the field. Those who take part in this ceremony, however, drink the liquor with wild shouts and dancing, and return home. The Janni and a few of the old men remain a little behind, to reply

to and pacify any god who may by accident have been forgotten at the bidding of the gods, and may now demand the cause. Having gone a few steps, those elders and the priests turn back and say--“If we have unconsciously omitted to do honour on this occasion to any god, we pray of the other deities to intercede for us and pacify him.”

Pitterri Pennu—The God of Increase.

Pitterri Pennu, the God of Increase, and of Gain in every shape, is worshipped at seed-time, and his worship is in each village designated from the tree, rock, or other spot where it is performed, as the “Mowa-tree” worship, the “Tank-side” worship.

Upon the first day of the feast, a sort of rude car is made of a basket set upon a few sticks, tied upon bamboo rollers for wheels. The Janni takes this car first to the house of the lineal head of the tribe or branch, to whom it is essential that precedence should be given in all ceremonies connected with agriculture, and obtains from it a little of each kind of seed and some feathers. He then takes the car to every other house in the village, which contributes the same things, and lastly, it is conducted to a field without the village, accompanied by all the young men who beat each other and strike the air violently with long sticks. The seed which is thus carried out, is called the share of “evil spirits, spoilers of the seed.” These are considered to be driven out with the car; and when it and its contents are abandoned to them, they are held to have no excuse for interfering with the rest of the seed corn.

The next day, the people of each house kill a hog over the seeds for the year, and address the following invocation to the God of Increase.

“O, Pitterri Pennu! This seed we shall sow to-morrow. Some of us your suppliants will have a great return, some a small return. Let the least favoured have a full basket, let the most favoured have many baskets. Give not this seed to ant, or rat, or hog. Let the stems which shall spring from it be so stout that the earth shall tremble under them. Let the rain find no hole or outlet whereby to escape from our fields. Make the earth soft like the ashes of cow dung. To him who has no iron wherewith to shoe his plough, make the wood of the doh-tree like iron. Provide other food than our seed for the parrot, the crow, and all the fowls and beasts of the jungle. Let not the white ant destroy the roots, nor the wild hog crush the stem to get at the fruit; and make our crops of all kinds have a

better flavour than that of those of any other country. We are unskilled in adapting our seeds to different soils; give us wisdom to suit them to each other. Thou art a god created by Boora Pennu. O, Pitterri Pennu! if pleased, your bounty is boundless. Be gracious to us."

After this invocation, the elders feast upon the hogs, and the mowa spirit. The young men, however, in revenge for their exclusion from the good cheer, enjoy the privilege of waylaying and pelting them with jungle fruit, when returning from the feast.

Upon the third day, the lineal head of the tribe or branch goes out and sows his seed, when all the rest may do so.

Klambo Pennu, or Pilamu Pennu—The God of the Chace.

The following worship is paid to Klambo Pennu, or Pilamu Pennu, the God of the Chace.

When the huntsmen fail to find game, the Janni is required to ascertain and declare the cause of their ill success, which he may find to be, either, that they have violated some law of the chace, or some of the many rules for dividing and eating the game; or that, as the hunters left the village, some one in it wept, an act most offensive to the God of the Chace:—from some such cause, he may say that Klambo Pennu or some other god has ordered the jungle to hide the game; or has made the arrows of the hunter pointless; or has ordered the streams to take away weariness from the pursued game; and he will then direct some rice, an egg, and a fowl to be brought from each house for an offering to be placed on the round stones of Klambo Pennu beside the village,—upon which all game is deposited when brought in, divided into the proper shares, and often also cooked. The offering required by the priest being collected, he thus invokes the god—"O, Klambo Pennu! You are our God of the Chace. You gave game to our fathers, and were used also to make our arrows sure, to give force to our axes, and keenness to the mouths of our dogs; while, at your shrine the cooking fire was never extinguished, and the blood never dry. Behold it now! O, Klambo Pennu! lay aside your anger. One cannot always stay the tears of children. Who at a feast can restrain a greedy-guts? This, you know; and why, therefore, do you record these faults against us upon your knotted string?¹ We speak thus, but the benefit of the chace is no

¹ The Khonds keep all account by knots on strings.

less yours than ours. Let us again see the sambur, and the spotted deer, and the bison, and the wild hog, and the hare, as we leave our thresholds; and when these animals hear our shout, may their limbs become disobedient, and their hearts panic-struck. Give to our arrows and our axes the poison of the first iron against our game. Make the earth preserve its footmarks. Make a cool wind ever blow from the hill and the forest upon us huntsmen. O, Klambo Pennu, make your name great!"

The Janni then rubs an arrow or an axe on the stone of Klambo Pennu; all do the same to their weapons, and they go out and bring home something, if it be but a small bird, from the forest. It is usual, moreover, when a hunting party is formed, to require the priest to propitiate the God of the Chase, by piling the weapons of the huntsmen by a rivulet, sprinkling water over them with a handful of long grass, and sacrificing a fowl; when the god, if propitious, enables him to indicate the direction in which game is to be sought, and occasionally to devote so many head to fall. Klambo punishes the slightest infraction of the rules he has laid down for the division of game; they are such as—that the head and tail of every animal belong to the person who kills it, those being considered the most delicate portions, which he will desire to present to the old men of his family; and that the under portion of every beast belongs to the person on whose land it falls.

Loha Pennu—The God of War, (literally, God of Iron.)

Every village, or cluster of hamlets, has a grove sacred to the God of War. In it are buried a picco of iron, believed to be a relic of the iron of the time when the Earth Goddess first introduced poison into iron, amongst other evils; and an ancient bow and arrows, and a war-drum of iron, or some one of these weapons. They appear a little above the surface of the ground, and are seen to emerge somewhat farther before a battle, subsiding again on its conclusion. The War God presides over contests between different tribes, or between Khonds and foreign enemies, but never over the contests of the people of the same tribe. He becomes highly incensed if war be not forthwith declared when the maintenance of rights requires it, and then shows his wrath by the ravages of tigers and disease. When such signs appear, the elders assemble and deliberate. The history of the past is gone over, with a view to discover the breach of the laws of war which may have offended the god; and if, in the end, it is

determined that there shall be war with some "Kassinga," or enemy beyond the tribe, the following ceremonies are gone through:—

The fighting men, having first washed and dressed their hair with the care required by Khond custom, assemble and place their ornaments of war, feathers, skins, cloths, &c., before the God of War, in his grove. The Janni takes a fowl, with some rice and arrack, and invokes the god, while he also calls upon all the other deities to assemble as witnesses of their proceedings. He then says—"O, God of War! we have doubtless omitted to give battle, it may be, through forgetfulness of your laws, or through weakness, or from considering too much the immature age of our youth, or the scantiness of our provisions; but now, from the ravages of tigers, from the fevers, the diseases of the eye, the ulcers, and the pains in every limb, from which we suffer, we conceive that you indicate to us that you have given us sufficient strength, provisions, and wisdom for war. We bring to you our weapons. You have made them strong, now make them keen. We go out to fight our enemies. Send home the erring shaft. Send our stones straight to the mark. Let our axes crush cloth and bone, as the jaws of the hyæna crush its prey. Make the wounds we give to gape. Let our little men slay big men. When the wounds of our enemies heal, let lameness remain. Let their stones and arrows fall on us as softly as the flowers of the mowa tree fall in the wind. Let our wounds heal as quickly as the blood drops from them dry upon the ground. Make the weapons of our enemies brittle as the long pods of the karta tree. You are our War God, do you thus aid with your strength us and our allies (whom they name). May the weapons of all of us when we return from the fight be changed in hue. May our women be proud and happy to serve food in battle to brave men like us, so that when other tribes shall hear of their happiness and pride, they shall desire to unite their women to us. May we plunder in victory the villages of our foes, of bullocks, and tobacco, and brass vessels, which our women may bear proudly as presents to their parents. O, Loha Pennu! we worship you with fowls, and sheep, and hogs, and buffaloes. We only ask for the aid you gave to our fathers in past fights (naming them), and no new thing. We are their children."

Then all snatch up their arms, when the priest commands silence, and recites the following myth and invocation, the former containing many of the distinctive doctrines of the sect of Tari.

"In the first time, when the God of Light created the hills, and the woods, and the streams great and small, and the plains, and the rocks, and boundaries, and the tame animals, and the game of the

forests, and man,—then, too, he made the iron of these weapons, but the hands of our forefathers did not know how to use them.

“There was a mother, Umbally Bylee, with two children, Allonguarra, and Patanguarra, warriors. They came to her one day, all wounded, and with bleeding breasts. She said, ‘What has befallen you?’ They answered, ‘We have been fighting outside people with sword-grass.’ Their mother cured their wounds, and said, “That is an improper way of fighting, do not fight so again.’ A few days after, the children came again, covered with burs, or spikes of grass, as sheep are covered with wool, and said, ‘We have fought the outside people with bur (or spear) grass.’ Their mother cured them, and said, ‘This mode of fighting is improper. Bring the iron of the Hindu country, and make blades for axes and for arrows, and take the damun tree for axe handles, and make bows of the thornless bamboo, and wind skins and cloth round the body, and adorn the head with feathers, and go forth to fight. Then you shall become awakened and improved, and cloth, and salt, and sugar will come to you, and you will see men of different nations and different minds.’ And they made arrows of this form,¹ and went out to battle, and on both sides very many fell. Then the children came and said to their mother, ‘O mother! we have obeyed your orders, and very many have died—none of the wounded have lived! We cannot endure the deadly keenness of this iron.’ She answered, ‘My child, it is not the fault of the weapons that all whom they wound die. The destructive (or terrible) goddess, who made the iron what it is, mingled in its composition no drop of pity. Heat the iron in the fire, and beat it.’ They did so, and it became changed, and it slew only those who were ready to die. The mother then said, ‘Make your arrows henceforth in another form. This arrow, with whatever skill you may shoot, will slay those only who are ready to die.’ And this form has remained, and to this day it has defended every man’s boundaries, and property, and rights.

“O God of War! now give to our arms the qualities of the first merciless iron. Then shall we be rich in every form of wealth, and we will pay to you the richest worship.”

The priest then cries—“Now arm and march!” He accompanies the host to the enemies’ boundary, over which an arrow is shot from the bundle of some one indicated by the divining sickle, and then a branch of a tree is cut and carried off from the enemies’ land.

¹ A drawing would be necessary to explain the difference between the two forms of arrow-heads.

The host next go to the village within whose boundary the shrine of the War God is situated ; and the village chief dresses the branch in clothes and armour, sets it up to personate one of the enemy, I believe, and calls upon the God of Light, and all the other 'gods, saying—" Bear witness, that in all these proceedings we have conformed to the rules of the God of War ; that victory is therefore now due to us, and that our sufferings from tigers, from fevers, and from every pain, ought to cease ;" when all shout and say—" To suffer death we do not object, but, O gods ! let us not be *mutilated* in battle. We are the children of such and such great ancestors (naming them). Ye gods, raise our name by giving us victory !" They then take the dressed-up branch and throw it down at the shrine of the God of War ; and it is to be observed, that they must give their enemies full time to complete similar rites before they attack them.

The following worship is paid to the God of War, when peace is made.

When parties are tired of a contest and wish for peace, they make known their desire to some friendly tribe who send three or four old men to act as mediators. These first visit one of the parties and ascertain its feelings, and then proceed to the other, to persuade them to peace. These generally reply in this strain—" Peace and war are not in our hands, but in the hands of the god, and if he requires war, the arrows will fly of their own accord from our bows." The mediators reply that this is true, but pray of them, if the arrows shall not so fly, that they will put all hostility out of their minds, and worship the gods ; and they add a proposal to ascertain the will of these in their presence. The mediators farther persuade them to send word to their enemies that they are going to make that inquiry, and that they propose they should do the same, each side sending two old men to witness the ceremony, and observe the minds of their opponents.

In the first place, a basket of rice is set out in the house of the Janui, or of the Chief, and the iron arrow of the God of War is placed upright in it. If it remains erect, the war must proceed ; if it falls, as it is very apt to do, the peace worship may proceed. In this case, the whole population go out into the plain, with the priest carrying some rice and two eggs. He calls upon Loha Pennu and invokes the presence of all the other gods, and says—" O Loha Pennu ! you aided us in this fight to prevent our dishonour, or because your will was war, or that our enemies might not rise upon our heads ; or you engaged us in this war to prevent us from being occupied with the service of pernicious gods ; or your reason is one

proceeding from your divine mind which is hid from us; or perhaps you preferred that we should die by war rather than in any other way; or it may be, that the smiths, the weavers, and the distillers solicited you apart for their benefit, that there should be war; or it may have been that you were angry that our arms hung rusty in our houses; or it may be that the jungle yams complained that they were being extirpated in the forests, where all penetrate fearlessly in time of peace? or did the honey-bees complain that they had no life from persecution in the leisure of the long peace? or the bullocks that they were dying beneath the yoke in clearing new land? or did the beasts and birds of the forest complain that they were suffering extirpation? or is it that the paths to our friends' houses are worn into stream beds by the feet of passers to and fro, and that they prayed for war? or is it your reason, that there have been breaches of solemn engagements? From whatsoever cause, and through whomsoever,—whether smith, honey-bee, breach of engagement, &c., this war arose, all now seek peace. This is the disposition of our minds. Do you make plain to us the meaning of the signs of your will."

They now fill a dish with hog's fat, and stick a cotton wick in it. If the flame burns straight, it is for war; if not, for peace. They now also turn upside-down the earthen vessel used in worship, put some rice upon the bottom of it, try if an egg will stand in the rice, and say—"O God of War, explain these signs! but if they are for peace, do not thereupon become inattentive! Give us full strength to the very end, until we and our enemies, to the last man, have laid down our arms; and do you support us in future through all generations, as you do now. If we shall have peace now, we will provide liberally for your worship, and increase your service. We your servants pray you to make the minds of all consent to this peace. Do you ascertain distinctly the minds of our enemies, and of their gods, and act accordingly. And let there be perfect harmony in our hearts; and may our feet raise such a cloud of dust in the peace dance, that it shall not settle in three days, even though the skies should flood the earth. O Loha Pennu! upon that day, let there be no rain, and no trouble in childbirth."

No new answer is required from the god, but the negotiations proceed through a long course until both hosts join in the peace dance, which rages for three or four hours. All are frantic with excitement, conceiving it to be inspired by the god, and that it would be impious to resist it. The joy of the peace dance is regarded as the very highest attainable on earth; and the exhaustion which follows it is considered to demand fifteen days' repose.

The following is the conclusion of the ceremonial of peace-making as it was performed by the tribes of Darungabadi and Grundabadi, in 1845, after a long period of destructive war. These tribes are of the sect of Boora, and it will be observed that they expressly ascribe to him the introduction of the sanctions of peace.

The Janni having prepared a mixture of water and the earth of a white ants' hill, said—"Let the warriors of both sides attend. Let the assembled multitudes listen. The beginning of our feud was this. Loha Pennu said to himself, 'Let there be war; and he forthwith entered into all weapons, so that from instruments of peace they became weapons of war; he gave edge to the axe, and point to the arrow; he entered into all kinds of food and drink, so that men in eating and drinking were filled with rage, and women became instruments of discord instead of soothers of anger. Our abundance of the blessings of peace was given to others, and the means of war alone abounded with us. We forsook love and friendship, and were filled with enmities. So great wars arose. Loha Pennu being satisfied with bloodshed, weapons having become blunt with slaughter, and the earth fat with blood, Boora Pennu wills that the solemn obligations which he appointed in past time to allay the wars and animosities produced by Loha Pennu, shall now be entered into, and I now therefore administer those obligations. Let the sharpness of weapons cease; let the wrath which enters into man with food and drink cease; and let man resume love and friendship. And do thou, O Pitterri Pennu (Goddess of Increase) be gracious to us, and increase and multiply our people, and thou Loha Pennu! be thou far from us."

The Janni then sprinkled the parties making peace, with water and earth.

Sundi Pennu—The God of Boundaries.

The following is the common strain of invocation addressed to Sundi Pennu:—"Oh, Sundi Pennu! keep disease from our boundary, the disease of epilepsy and disease of the eye, of the arms, of the legs. Let not the hostile gods of other countries cross our boundary; nor allow the tigers nor the snakes to cross our limits. Do you attract the water of higher countries to our boundary, and do not let stray our useful animals or our game, but do you let pass easily all noxious beasts. Permit not our tame cattle to pass our boundary, but make them grow large within it like the swelling bitter gourd.

"You were always wont to do us these favours; now, for a small reason, your heart is changed. I your servant pray you to dismiss

that feeling from your breast. I present to you this fowl, this egg, and this arrack. Moreover we pray you to remember, O God of Boundaries, that it is your part to meet and conciliate the hearts of all who approach us. I now go. Do you give a propitious answer, so that henceforth I may have to render you worship in pleasure, not in pain."

The priest then makes the offering of a fowl or a goat at a point upon the boundary, fixed by ancient usage, and generally where a path crosses it.

The God of Boundaries is necessarily considered a deity common to any two parties whose lands may adjoin. When these parties are at war, each invokes the god to bear witness to the justice of its cause, and to favour its arms; and, as both may not propitiate him on the same day, the battle is postponed, if necessary, to enable them to do so upon successive days. This god, in a fight, sends the arrows of their enemies to the hands of the party whom he may favour, closes their wounds, that they may not gape fatally, and saves their battle-food from being lost in the confusion of the field, and from turning sour.

The Worship of the Second and Third Classes of Inferior Deities.

The slight and unfrequent worship of the second class of inferior gods—the deified and sinless men of the first age—appears to require no notice beyond what is given in the statement of the tenets of the Khonds. I proceed to describe the worship paid to the third class of inferior gods—the minor deities who fill nature and preside over the details of human life.

Idzu Pennu—The House God.

Idzu Pennu, or the House God, is the god of every household. He is propitiated by the offering of a hog or a fowl, with rice and arrack, on every occasion of general sacrifice by a tribe or village, and also when the master of the household transacts any private business of importance, as the settlement of a marriage, or any considerable sale of property. The household god, if favourable, increases the grain stored in the garner; and he is specially invoked at all domestic ceremonies, as namings, and at marriages, which every minor deity also is prayed to bless with the benefits in his especial gift—as the God of Boundaries to take care that the bride passes safely from her

father's to her husband's house, and the God of Streams to provide that water may abound at her new home.

To Jori Pennu, the God of Streams, to Soro Pennu, God of Hills, and the other minor local gods, the following is the common style of address, while the offerings are fowls, eggs, rice, and arrack.

"Oh God of Streams! you visit us with evils, withdrawing your favour on account of our sins. We cannot say that we are faultless, but we have been unable to afford to you a large and full supply of food in worship. Were we, O God of Streams, constantly to expend our means upon your rites, and upon those of all the other gods, we should lose our lands; and then, we pray you to consider, where would be your worship? Considering this, we are unable to spend much upon your rites. O receive this apology. We now make small offerings of a fowl or an egg, according to our ability; accept of them graciously. Look with favour upon us, on our wives, and our children, on our cattle, our sheep, our pigs, and their offspring. Do not let them be hurt in going to the water (or to the hill, if the Hill God be addressed). Give us increase of wealth! Accept our worship graciously, and give us your blessing."

Nadzu Pennu—The Village God.

Nadzu Pennu, the Village God, is the 'guardian deity of every hamlet. He is the great object of the familiar worship of the Khonds: the prosperity or ruin of villages is in his hands, and his patronage is implored for almost every undertaking. This deity is familiarly approached by all, at his shrine, which is simply a stone placed under the great cotton tree which stands in or near every village. That tree, it may be observed, is planted at the foundation of each village, and is regarded with feelings of veneration which may be best understood from the following ceremony, which takes place amongst the sect of Boora Pennu at the foundation of every village, or upon changing the site of an old one.

On the day fixed for the ceremony, the village Janni brings from the jungle the stem of a young cotton tree, six or eight feet long, having its root and top cut off, but with all its twigs carefully preserved, and the long sharp thorns, which the young branches of this tree bear but the old ones lose, unbroken. The priest, upon entering the village, says to the young tree, "I bring you, by the order of Boora Pennu, who commanded us to build this village, as did also such and such gods"—naming ten or twelve others. The people of

the village are now assembled, with dancing and music and fermented rice, and a hole is dug, in which the tree is planted.

A day or two afterwards, the Janni, having ascertained whether the god requires the sacrifice of a hog or a buffalo, and the animal being duly provided, again meets the assembled villagers by the young tree, when the following rude masque is gone through. An old man of stupid and clownish look, comes out of the village to where the people are assembled, and with a surprised and puzzled air, asks the Janni—"What, I pray you, may be the meaning of the planting of this stick?" The priest replies,—“If you don't know, friend, you must assuredly be a great block,—a mere jungle-stick, yourself. And how, O friend block, may I ask, did you find legs to bring you hither? You must have acquired them in some wonderful way. But since you are come to us, I will enlighten you, and make a man of you. Know, then, that when Boora Pennu first ordained that villages should exist, he gave us the tree which you now see planted, for a model in all these respects. That our families should spread like the branches of this great tree, strongly and widely. That our women should resemble its lovely and glowing red flowers. That, as the birds are attracted by the love of those sweet flowers, so the youths of neighbouring tribes should come, attracted by our young daughters. That, as of the flowers of this tree not one falls barren, but all unblighted bear fruit, so should it be with our women. That our sons should, in their youth, be rough, sharp, and keen like the young branches of this tree, which are covered with thorns; but that, as those thorns disappear with age, so should they become smooth and cool when youth is past. And lastly, this tree is given us as an example that we should live as long as it, a most long-lived tree. Boora Pennu thus ordained, and gave us this model tree.” The old man then says, “And for what purpose, I pray, is this hog, or buffalo?” The priest replies, “One places things which are of value on a stand. We place flesh upon leaves, rice in vessels of earth or of metal; a man rests upon a couch; and this animal is an offering upon which the commands of the deity may rest.” Then the victim is killed, and some of its dung mixed with straw is put upon the cut top of the tree.

Sugu Pennu, or Sidruju Pennu—The God of Fountains.

The Gods of Fountains are objects of the most anxious worship. When a spring dries up, the priest is instantly sent for, and implored with the most liberal promises of reward to bring back the water.

He first attempts to propitiate and move the God of the spring; and if he fails to do so, tries the following process. He plucks the cocoon of a wild silkworm from a bamboo tree, and having emptied it, steals in the dead of night to some living fountain, to try by secret invocations to induce its god to transfer a portion of its waters to the deserted spring; and this he does at the imminent risk of his life, if his errand should be discovered by the proprietors of the waters which are to be wiled away. The priest, after muttering for a long time alone over the spring, fills the cocoon shell from it, and returns to the dry fountain repeating prayers as he goes, which, if favourably heard, will make a stream of water follow his footsteps under ground. The chief of the village, with a party of its elders, who have fasted the preceding day, await his return at the dry well, the presence of women at which would be fatal, while that of youths is also interdicted. The deserted basin is now cleared out, and the cocoon cup of water is placed in it. The priest sacrifices a sheep or a hog to Sugu Pennu, and he, if become propitious, either restores the spring at once, or gives signs of satisfaction from which its reappearance may be confidently hoped.

Joogah Pennu—Goddess of Small Pox.

Joogah Pennu, the Goddess of Small Pox, is a dread power which cannot be appeased by any worship, and for which the Khonds have no distinct place in their mythology. This deity in her wrath "sows small-pox upon mankind as men sow seed upon the earth." When this disease appears in a village, all desert it save a few who remain to offer continually the blood of buffaloes, hogs, and sheep to the terrible power. The people of the neighbouring hamlets can but attempt to prevent her approach by barricading the paths with thorns and deep ditches, and boiling upon them cauldrons of stinking oils.

SECTION III.—FEMALE INFANTICIDE.

The practice of female infanticide is, I believe, not wholly unknown amongst any portion of the Khond people, while it exists in some of the tribes of the sect of Boora to such an extent, that no female infant is spared, except when a woman's first child is a female, and that villages containing a hundred houses may be seen without a female child.

The custom has its origin in the ideas and usages which regulate the relations of the sexes, and especially the conditions of marriage, amongst these tribes; while, moreover, it is expressly sanctioned and promoted by their religious doctrines.

I can here but very briefly advert to the customs and feelings which the practice of infanticide alternately springs from and produces. The influence and privileges of women are exceedingly great amongst the Khonds, and are, I believe, greatest amongst the tribes which practise infanticide. Their opinions have great weight in all public and private affairs; and their direct agency is often considered essential in the former. Thus, the presence of the sisters and daughters of a tribe is indispensable at its battles, to afford aid and encouragement; and the intervention of its wives, who are neutral between the tribes of their fathers and those of their husbands, is necessary to make peace. The Khond women frequently settle difficult questions between their tribes and the Rajahs, through the ladies of these, with whom they are always in communication; while these ladies, it may be observed, are employed on critical occasions as irresistible instruments to sway the Khond chiefs.

But the ascendancy of Khond women in these tribes is completed by their extraordinary matrimonial privileges; with respect to which, however, it is to be borne in mind, that intermarriage between persons of the same tribe, however large or scattered, is considered incestuous, and punishable by death.

So far is constancy to her husband from being required in a wife, that her pretensions do not, at least, suffer diminution in the eyes of either sex when fines are levied on her convicted lovers; while, on the other hand, infidelity on the part of a married man is held to be highly dishonourable, and is often punished by deprivation of many social privileges. A wife, moreover, may quit her husband at any time, except within a year of her marriage, or when she expects offspring, or within a year after the birth of a child; and she may then return to her father's house, or contract a new marriage; while no man who is without a wife may, without entailing disgrace on himself and his tribe, refuse to receive any woman who may choose to enter his house and establish herself as its mistress.

Now, a bridegroom gives for a wife of these tribes in which so few women are brought up, a large consideration in cattle and money. The sum is chiefly subscribed by his near relatives and his branch of his tribe, and is paid to his wife's father, who, again, distributes it amongst the heads of families of his own branch. But, when a wife quits her husband, he has the right to reclaim immediately from her

father the whole sum paid for her; while the father, at the same time, becomes entitled to levy a like sum from any new husband to whom she may attach herself. And, it being observed that every man's tribe is at once answerable for all his debts and bound in honour to enforce his claims, it will be understood that these restitutions and exactions, whether to be made betwixt persons belonging to different tribes or to different branches of the same tribe, must be, even in the simplest cases, productive of infinite difficulty and vexation; while they have given rise to three-fourths of the sanguinary quarrels and hereditary feuds which distract the Khond country. Thence, say the Khonds—"To any man but a rich and powerful chief, who desires to form connexions, and is able to make large and sudden restitutions, and to his tribe—a married daughter is a curse. By the death of our female infants before they see the light, the lives of men without number are saved, and we live in comparative peace."

With respect to the religious sanction of this practice, these tribes believe, as I have already observed, that Boora, contemplating the deplorable consequences of the creation of the first feminine being, his consort, charged men, or gave them express permission, to bring up only as many females as they should find consistent with the good of society. Now, while they believe that souls condemned by Dinga to pass successive lives upon earth are ever re-born in the tribes in which they were first born and received, they conceive that the reception of a soul into a tribe, when it is first sent to animate a human form, is completed only on the performance of the ceremony of naming the infant on the seventh day after its birth; and they hold the curious doctrine, moreover, that Boora sets apart a certain quantity of soul to be distributed amongst each generation of mankind. Thence they believe that should an infant die before it is named, its soul does not enter into the circle of tribal spirits to be reborn as often as Dinga wills, but rejoins the mass of spirit set apart for the generation to which it belongs. And thus, by the destruction of a female infant, either the addition of a new female soul to the number of spirits attached to a tribe is prevented, and the chance of getting a new male spirit in its place is gained, or the return of a female soul by re-birth in that tribe is postponed.

But the exclusion of new female spirits from a tribe is believed by these Khonds to be of high importance upon another ground. They believe that, of the quantity of soul allotted by Boora to each generation, the less that is assigned to the women, the more will remain for the men, whose mental powers will be proportionately improved. And the first prayer of every Khond being for many and

highly endowed male children, the belief that the mental qualities of these may be raised by the destruction of the female infants, is no slight incentive to the practice, superadded to the motives afforded by the belief that the number of the males may be increased by it, that it is expressly permitted by Boora, and that it averts much of the strife and bloodshed arising from the capricious dissolution of marriages by women.

The religion of the Khonds, then, is a distinct theism, with a subordinate demonology; and the sum of its chief doctrines is briefly as follows:—

The Supreme Being and sole Source of Good, who is styled the God of Light, created for himself a consort who became the Earth Goddess, and the Source of Evil; and thereafter, he created the earth, with all it contains, and man. The Earth Goddess, prompted by jealousy of the love borne to man by his creator, rebelled against the God of Light, and introduced moral and physical evil into the world. The God of Light arrested the action of physical evil, while he left man perfectly free to receive or to reject moral evil—defined to be “disobedience towards God, and strife amongst men.” A few of mankind entirely rejected moral evil, the remainder received it. The former portion were immediately deified; the latter were condemned to endure every form of physical suffering, with death, deprivation of the immediate care of the Creator, and the deepest moral degradation. Meanwhile, the God of Light and his rebel consort contended for superiority, until the elements of good and evil became thoroughly commingled in man and throughout nature.

Up to this point the Khonds hold the same general belief, but from it they divide into two sects directly opposed upon the question of the issue of the contest between the two antagonist powers.

One sect holds, that the God of Light completely conquered the Earth Goddess, and employs her—still the active principle of evil—as the instrument of his moral rule. That he resolved to provide a partial remedy for the consequences of the introduction of evil, by enabling man to attain to a state of moderate enjoyment upon earth, and to partial restoration to communion with his Creator after death. And that, to effect this purpose, he created three classes of subordinate deities, and assigned to them the office—first, of instructing man in the arts of life, and regulating the powers of nature for his use, upon the condition of his paying to them due worship; secondly, of adminis-

tering a system of retributive justice, through subjection to which, and through the practice of virtue during successive lives upon earth, the soul of man might attain to beatification.

The other sect hold, upon the other hand, that the Earth Goddess remains unconquered; that the God of Light could not, in opposition to her will, carry out his purpose with respect to man's temporal lot; and that man, therefore, owes his elevation from the state of physical suffering into which he fell through the reception of evil, to the direct exercise of her power to confer blessings, or to her permitting him to receive the good which flows from the God of Light, through the inferior gods, to all who worship them. With respect to man's destiny after death, they believe that the God of Light carried out his purpose. And they believe that the worship of the Earth Goddess by human sacrifice, is the indispensable condition on which these blessings have been granted, and their continuance may be hoped for; the virtue of the rite availing not only for those who practise it, but for all mankind.

ART. XIII.—*Two Lectures on the Aboriginal Race of India, as distinguished from the Sanskritic or Hindu Race.* By LIEUT.-GENERAL BRIGGS, F.R.S.

[*Delivered 8th May, and 19th June, 1852.*]

THE subject on which I propose to address you possesses a certain degree of interest, if it be only for its novelty. We have heard, it is true, for a series of years, of races of Hill-people in different parts of India; and latterly the accounts of them have crowded in upon us from many directions. Some have called them aborigines, without troubling themselves about their origin; while others have considered them Hindus expelled from their caste for some misdemeanour; but no one seems to have entertained the idea that the numerous communities which have been found spread over the surface of India, were the inhabitants of the country before the Hindus, or that those communities had one common origin. This idea appears to have occurred to no one that I am aware of till about six years ago, when I had occasion to refer to several papers on this subject in the Transactions of this Society, and those of the more ancient Society in Calcutta. When I began to compare the various accounts one with another, I did not fail to perceive the very close general analogies of their customs and their institutions. This led to fuller inquiries into their physiological, and eventually, into their philological peculiarities, till at length I arrived at the conclusion that all these various tribes were of one and the same race; and I shall endeavour to lead you to coincide with my sentiments on this interesting question. My opinion has not been hastily arrived at. Independent of my own personal acquaintance with these people for a series of years and in most parts of India, it has derived strength from the descriptions of others,¹ who have had similar oppor-

¹ Colonel Vans Agnew.
Dr. James Bird.
Dr. Bradley.
Colonel Dixon.
J. Elliot.
Sir Henry Elliott.
Walter Elliot.
Capt. Fenwick.
Dr. Buchanan Hamilton.
Bishop Heber.

B. H. Hodgson.
Capt. Hunter.
Sir R. Jenkins.
Sir J. Malcolm.
Capt. McIntosh.
Capt. Macpherson.
Dr. Müller.
Capt. T. J. Newbold.
Capt. Pemberton.
Professor Rask.

Capt. Rigby.
Dr. Rost.
Capt. Sherwill.
Dr. Stevenson.
Rev. W. Taylor.
W. Wathen.
Professor Westergaard.
Colonel M. Wilks.
Professor Wilson.
Parliamentary Papers.

tunities of seeing them, and whose notices of them are scattered over many published works, in the pages of our own Journal, and in those of the several Societies in the East with which this is connected, and in official and other reports.

I have before stated that it is only five or six years since my attention was particularly drawn to the singular coincidence of the uniformity of habits of all the wild tribes of India, and I was induced to give several lectures on the subject before the Ethnological Society of London. These have not been published, so that the matter I shall bring before you will, to the members of this Society, be in a great measure new ; and, condensed in its present shape, will afford a subject for two evening lectures.

In order to prevent misconception, I may as well state here that when I use the term Hindu I allude to the race termed by Blumenbach *Caucasian* ; by Pritchard *Iranian*, the section of which that invaded India being called by their sacred writers and legislators *Arian* ; and which race brought with it the language of which Sanskrit appears the most polished type.

The points I desire to establish are—

1. That the Hindus entered India from a foreign country, and that they found it pre-occupied by inhabitants.
2. That by slow degrees they possessed themselves of the whole of the soil, reducing to serfage those they could retain upon it.
3. That they brought with them the Sanskrit language, a tongue different from that of the aborigines.
4. That they introduced into the country municipal institutions.
5. That the aborigines differ in every respect from the Hindus.
6. Lastly. That the aborigines throughout India are derived from one common source.

In dealing with this subject I beg to call your attention to the fact, that we have before us a vast field to explore ; that India, according to Campbell's Statistics, occupies an area exceeding that of Europe, if we exclude Russia, Norway, and Sweden ; and that its population, as compared with the same part of Europe, does not fall very short of it.

	Area.		Population.
Punjab	83,006	....	8,000,000
Saugor	17,543	....	2,143,599
Bengal, &c.	225,103	....	41,094,325
North-western Provinces	85,571	....	23,800,549
Madras	144,889	....	16,339,426
Bombay and Sind	120,065	....	10,485,017
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	676,177	....	101,862,916
Allied States	690,261	....	52,941,263
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	1,366,438		154,804,179
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	Area.		Population.
Europe	2,793,000	....	227,700,000
Russia, Sweden, Norway	1,758,700	....	60,518,000
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	1,034,300	....	167,182,000

In India, as in Europe, there are great national divisions of dialects, each of which extends over a population of several millions. The inquiry I propose commences at an epoch beyond that of Indian recorded history; and when I take that of the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan, under Joshua, as a starting-point, I only avail myself of the feeble light which is afforded by the assumption that the Vedas were written in India about that time. How long before that period the Hindus had invaded the country must perhaps be hid from us for ever. That they found it pre-occupied by other inhabitants is distinctly stated in those works.

In the Introduction to the translation made by our learned Director, Professor Wilson, of the Rig Veda, we find him saying of the Hindus: "That they had extended themselves from a more northern site, or that they were a northern race, is rendered probable from the peculiar expression used on more than one occasion in soliciting long life, when the worshipper asks for a hundred winters—a boon not likely to be desired by the natives of a warm climate. They appear also to have been a fair-complexioned people, at least comparatively so, and foreign invaders of India, as it is said that Indra divided the fields among his white-complexioned friends, after destroying the indigenous barbarians." From the era of the Vedas, to the period when Kulluka wrote a commentary on the law of Menu, six centuries elapsed. The age of Menu is unknown. We find, however, that when that lawgiver wrote, the Hindus, according to his testimony, had not passed farther southward than the 22nd degree of north.

latitude. Beyond that line lies the still uncleared belt of forest as far as the Sâtpura hills, which seems, from its barrenness and the numbers and hardihood of the indigenous tribes, to have opposed a serious barrier to the progress of the invading race. Menu describes the inhabitants of those parts in his time to have been "barbarians, living in forests, and speaking an unknown tongue."

We find no monumental remains of Hindus in the Dekhan earlier than the year of our Lord 450, about which period Jaya Sinha, of the Hindu race, ruled Guzerat. There have been discovered by Mr. Wathen, of Bombay, and by Mr. Walter Elliot, of Madras, several copper plates of that period, by which Jaya Sinha confers land on Brahmans in the Dekhan—a proof that he had the power of making such grants. These indications of the rule of Jaya Sinha extend about as far south as Bombay, in lat. 19°. The aborigines of the plains were retained in slavery as elsewhere; and in the capacity of village police, as they exist at this day. Some few of the original chiefs retained their mountain castles as late as the fifteenth century.

According to the imperfect accounts we possess, the Hindus were occupied from that period four or five hundred years ere they penetrated as far south as Mysore. There, according to Wilks, they encountered the Curumbas, in the tenth century, who had their seat of government at Talkad, forty miles east of the present capital. The Curumbas were expelled, and sought shelter in the forests of the western coast, in Canara, where they are now found in a wretched and degraded condition as cultivating serfs of that region.

While these conquests proceeded in the west, a simultaneous invasion took place on the east, when, according to Capt. Macpherson and Mr. Sterling, the Hindus entered the country of the Urias, in the year 437; and, keeping between the hills and the sea, subdued the inhabitants of the plain. Those in the hills continue all but independent at the present day.

They appear in the south-east, as elsewhere, to have lost their lands, which were distributed among the invaders, who, with their clansmen, still claim a descent of great antiquity. The eastern invasion also proceeded southward and westward, till it encountered the invaders from Guzerat. Battles ensued, and dynasties were subverted, of which we have but very imperfect accounts, till the Mahomedans, in the fourteenth century, reached the Dekhan. Up to that period the aborigines met with no consideration. They became everywhere serfs of the soil, or the outcast watchmen of villages. In the extreme south, where the Mahomedans never set foot, the soil is almost entirely cultivated by the aboriginal serfs,

of whom I shall speak more in detail hereafter. An aboriginal race also exists in the island of Ceylon, described by Knox, not different in their habits from some of the wildest tribes on the continent. The Rev. Dr. Stevenson, of Bombay, and others, seem to think it more than probable that colonies of Buddhists (a sect of Hindus) reached Ceylon by sea, and even landed on the southern extremity of the peninsula, whence they gradually extended themselves northward, while the Brahmanical sect of Hindus were making progress from the north. To enter at present on this subject, which possesses intense interest, and is still a desideratum in the ancient history of the Hindus, would lead me away altogether from that of the aborigines, to which I must confine myself.

Whatever may have been the state of the country when the Buddhists, the Jains, and the Brahmanical sects encountered each other in the south, one thing admits of no doubt, namely, that the aboriginal race was held in the condition of serfage everywhere; and that they remain in the same condition, though in a very mild form, under the British Government.

One cannot help being struck by the very slow progress the Hindus appear to have made in spreading themselves over the country. From the time of the Vedas they had not crossed the Vindhya range in six centuries and a half. Ten centuries more occurred ere they turned that barrier on the east and west, leaving the savage belt unsubdued, and Gondwana intact; and five centuries more passed ere they had reached the utmost limits of the Mysore country. This may be ascribed to several causes. First, the barren forests and wildernesses were not inviting. They held out no immediate prospect of advantage, and it was not till pressed by the increase of their population, perhaps, that the Hindus encroached on the neighbouring countries. Unlike the Mahomedans or the Christians, they were not bound to spread the doctrines of their faith, for, like the Jews, they received no proselytes. The proximate inhabitants possessed no wealth to induce the invaders to plunder them; nor do we know for certain that hordes from their original country followed and pressed them onward, as was the case in Europe, where circumstances were altogether different. Three things, however, seem certain: that the Hindus brought with them a language closely connected with those of Europe; that they reduced to serfage those they conquered, as did the Eastern invaders of Europe; and, that they established throughout India the same municipal institutions.

The Hindu legislator, Menu, has not left us in doubt what was ordained to be the fate of the subdued race, nor the relation they

were doomed for ever to bear with regard to their conquerors. In chapter x. of the Institutes, it is ordained that—

“ Their abode must be out of towns.

Their sole property is to consist of dogs and asses.

Their clothes should be those left by the dead.

Their ornaments, rusty iron.

They must roam from place to place.

No respectable man must hold intercourse with them.

They are to perform the office of executioner on all criminals condemned to death by the king. For this duty they may retain the bedding, the clothes, and the ornaments of those executed.”

Their condition is in every case one of perpetual slavery. In chapter viii. Menu says: “ The Chándála or impure can never be relieved from bondage, though he be emancipated by a master. How can he, whom God has destined to be the slave of Brahmans, ever be released from his destiny by man ? ”

There are incontestible proofs of the aboriginal race having once occupied every part of India; and that, ere the Hindus came amongst them, they had made sufficient progress in civilization, so as to form large communities, to establish kingdoms, and to become extensive cultivators of the soil, and merchants.

There are distinct remains of works of art, in the shape of old castles, extensive excavations, and other monumental ruins. Several of their principalities have continued to the present day, and history has transmitted to us, from the earliest period of which any authentic records exist, occasional proofs of the power this race once possessed. They must have entered India at a very remote period, and probably occupied it, as man appears to have spread elsewhere, in successive hordes, under successive leaders—in some cases as hunters, in others as herdsmen. It seems likely that the former preceded the latter; because, in the first place, there always has been, and still continues, an inveterate hostility between the two branches of the same race, and because the latter certainly occupied and cleared the land, and established principalities; while the former mainly subsisted on the chase, and followed a much less civilized life.

The hunters occupied large tracts of hunting-grounds, to which the conquering Hindus gave names after the horde which they reduced to subjection; while the pastoral tribes, under the denomination of Ahirs, Abhíras, Gawals, and Pals—names applied to them by the

Hindus—assumed more settled habits, and finally assumed regal power.

The tract of country on the west of India, now known by the name of Ahirwara, and formerly Abhira, extends from the coasts of Cutch eastward as far as Central India. The forts of Asseer, Gyalgarh, Gya, Gwaliar, and others, proclaim at once the former existence of a pastoral race; while the Hindus of the Dekhan, in all parts refer the excavation and construction (not the ornaments) of ancient ante-Hindu relics, to the period of the herdsmen kings.

Other great tracts of countries retain the names of the herds now occupying them. Thus we have—

The Bengies in Bengal,
 The Tirhus in Tirhut,
 The Koles (or Kolis) in Kolywara and Kolwan,
 The Malas in Malda, and Malpur,
 The Domes in Domapur, &c. &c.
 The Mirs in Mirwara,
 The Bhils in Bhilwara and Bhilwan,
 The Mahar in Maha Rashtra (Mahar-rashtra or Mahratta),
 The Mans in Man-desa,
 The Gonds in Gondwara or Gondwana,

besides others whose etymologies are not so evident.

I have already stated that there exist abundant proofs of the ancient, and in some instances, of the recent power of the aborigines in their normal condition. Of this the strongest is to be found in Gondwana, a region of 70,000 square miles, partially subdued at a very recent period by the Mahrattas, but containing a vast population, under their own chiefs, and retaining their primitive habits, physiognomy, and religion unmixed by connexion with the Hindus. In every part of India, where the soil has not yet been reclaimed, are found relics of the abnormal race more or less barbarous; while throughout the land, from Ceylon to Cashmere, they are met with in a state of slavery, consistent with the edicts of the Hindu law. In many of the provinces of Bengal, and in almost all the south of India, they are predial serfs, literally “adscripti glebæ;” and, where circumstances have favoured their emancipation as bondsmen of the soil, they continue in the condition of watchmen, cordwainers, and executioners of the law, living mostly in conical, but always in thatched, hovels, outside of Hindu villages and apart from the townsmen, having no property but their asses and dogs, and both

sexes with little or no clothing beyond what decency requires, and that for the most part in rags. In this condition, however, they perform the most important duties for the Hindu village communities. They constitute the rural police; and they are universally entrusted to convey the revenue to the chief towns of districts, in which duty they are never known to have proved otherwise than faithful. They enjoy lands tax-free, which they underlet, but seldom cultivate; and they receive a minimum portion of the produce of each field through the municipality appointed to receive and distribute it among the several official members of every commune. They have a general knowledge of all the police officers and men, in their districts and neighbourhood, and they act in singular concert and efficiency in the discovery of the perpetrators of crimes. In the performance of this duty they are usually disregardful of family ties, and are seldom known to screen even their own relatives if found to be principals or accomplices. They differ from the Hindus, inasmuch as the Hindus.

1. Are divided into castes.

The aborigines have no such distinctions.

2. Hindu widows are forbidden to marry.

The widows of the aborigines not only do so, but usually with the younger brother of the late husband—a practice they follow in common with the Scythian tribes.

3. The Hindus venerate the cow, and abstain from eating beef.

The aborigines feed alike on all flesh.

4. The Hindus abstain from the use of fermented liquors.

The aborigines drink to excess; and conceive no ceremony, civil or religious, complete without.

5. The Hindus eat of food prepared only by those of their own caste.

The aborigines partake of food prepared by any one.

6. The Hindus abhor the spilling of blood.

The aborigines conceive no religious or domestic ceremony complete without the spilling of blood and offering up a live victim.

7. The Hindus have a Brahmanical priesthood.

The indigenes do not venerate Brahmans. Their own priests (who are self-created) are respected according to their mode of life and their skill in magic and sorcery, in divining

future events, and in curing diseases: these are the qualifications which authorise their employment in slaying sacrificial victims, and in distributing them.

8. The Hindus burn their dead.

The aborigines bury their dead, and with them their arms, sometimes their cattle, as among the Scythians. On such occasions a victim ought to be sacrificed, to atone for the sins of the deceased.

9. The Hindu civil institutions are all municipal.

The aboriginal institutions are all patriarchal.

10. The Hindus have their courts of justice composed of equals.

The aborigines have theirs composed of heads of tribes, or of families, and chosen for life.

11. The Hindus brought with them (more than three thousand years ago) the art of writing and science.

The indigenes are not only illiterate, but it is forbidden for the Hindus to teach them.

This epitome of the peculiar customs of both races, together with the comparison of their physiognomy, to which I shall allude hereafter, establishes beyond doubt their dissimilarity in every respect.

The aborigine is not more distinguished in his other habits than he is in his moral virtues from the Hindus. The man of the ancient race scorns an untruth; and seldom denies the commission even of a crime that he may have perpetrated, though it lead to death. He is true to his promise; hospitable and faithful to his guest; devoted to his superiors; and is always ready to sacrifice his own life in the service of his chief. He is reckless of danger, and knows no fear. At the same time, he is by profession a robber, levying black mail on all from whom he can obtain it, under the plea of his ancient right to the soil, of which more civilized men have deprived him.

The aborigines live principally by the chase, and learn cunning in pursuit of their game, and in their endeavour to secure it. It is their duty to attend on all travellers entering a village, to afford them every requisite information of the locality, to take charge of their valuable goods, if required to do so, during their sojourn, and to be guides on their journey throughout the boundary, till relieved by another guide at the next village. Thus they act in the double capacity of protectors and informers of any injury which the traveller may experience within the precincts of their townships, and as spies

in watching the traveller's proceedings, reporting their suspicions to the town magistrate.

Their habit of tracking game by their footmarks, from those of the lion and tiger down to the hare and fox, gives them the same advantage in tracing robbers, who usually go barefooted. When put on the track of one or more thieves, they measure the footmark accurately with a stick cut to the length and breadth, and they remark any peculiarity in the tread. It is this peculiarity (which they distinguish with great nicety) that enables them to perform wonderful feats.

We are indebted to mere fragments of Hindu history for the slender light it sheds on this subject. The Vedas indicate clearly the existence of a race antecedent to those fair people who, entering northern India, found there a nation of hunters, whom they destroyed, or more probably drove before them, and whose lands they divided amongst themselves. This is recorded at a period fifteen centuries before Christ. At a more recent period, in the eighth century before Christ, Menu indicates that the Arian race then occupied five great divisions of territory north of the Vindhya mountains, the rest of India being in the hands of barbarians, who had not cleared the soil. In the fifth century before Christ, Herodotus (book ii. *Thalia*) describes two distinct races of Indians, which can be none other than those into which I have ventured to divide them. Of the one he says—"We have little information regarding the people of the East. What we do know of them amounts to this, that the Indians nearest to Persia inhabit the great desert, and are composed of many tribes speaking various dialects. They consist of pastoral tribes, and others who dwell in the marshes of rivers, subsisting principally on raw fish, which they take from boats constructed of bamboos. Their only clothing is of matting, made out of rushes. They also raise some coarse millet, which they boil in the husk for food. The fishing tribe bears the name of *Padoii*, *Παδοῖι*. More remote from Persia, and farther north, there are Indians who dwell in cities whose habits assimilate to those who inhabit the region of Bactriana. These Indians pay annual tribute in gold to Darius."

Those who have seen the lower classes in India in modern times, without clothing, and their mat-hoods to keep off the rain, on all the great rivers, and on the sea-coast, will at once recognise in them the fishing tribes of Herodotus on the Indus. The earliest account afforded to any of the literary societies of India among ourselves, is dated in 1776, when the eastern portion of Bengal suffered from incursions made by a race of people entitled Garrows, who came from a hilly tract called after them the Garrow Mountains, bordering on the dis-

trict of Bhagalpur. For a considerable time, troops were employed against them, but to little purpose, as they retired into their woody fastnesses, and picked off their enemies day and night, by their silent but deadly weapon, the bow. At length, a young civil servant of the name of Cleveland tried to civilize them by conciliation, and in the course of a few years succeeded in his efforts. They took to cultivating the land partially, and carried on considerable commerce with the inhabitants of the plain. Some of them were finally embodied into a police corps, regularly disciplined, and they have lately been inspected and reported as one of the finest native regiments in India.

Captain Sherwill has lately discovered another tribe, called Sonthals. Of these, and of the hill race, he has made sketches of the heads and busts of several, and caused them to be lithographed in the last Calcutta Journal. The Sonthals are spread over the country from Cattack, as far as Bhagalpur. In spite of their former uncivilized habits, they have become industrious cultivators, and land has been assigned to them by the government in the unreclaimed tract below the mountains, which, according to Captain Sherwill, embraces a boundary of 294 miles. In 1818, they comprised in that part forty villages, with 3000 souls. In 1851, they had established 1473 small villages, numbering 82,795 inhabitants, and paying a land-tax equivalent to 43,918 rupees. These facts are valuable, and shew what may be done by paying more attention to this class of people. Colonel Dixon's success in Mirwara, the report of which has lately been published, is another instance of a like nature.

As all the accounts of the aborigines very much resemble each other with regard to their habits, I shall say a few words on those of the Sonthals, which may be considered as rather a favourable picture. The men wear little or no clothing. The women wear a cloth, a yard wide, and from six to twelve yards in length, wrapped round the waist, carried over the left shoulder, and sometimes covering the back part of the head. It is then brought under the right arm, crosses the body, and is tucked in in front, having a very graceful appearance. This garment called Sári, is the uniform dress of the Hindu race throughout India. Both male and female wear massive rings of metal dependent from their ears.

Their religion enjoins bloody sacrifices, usually to an invisible deity; but which is often exhibited in the form of some large stone or shapeless log, besmeared with oil, and decorated with flowers. This would appear to indicate the spot selected for sacrifice rather than the representation of any divinity. On some occasions, I have

seen the log with a human head, or that of a tiger, carved on it in the rudest possible manner.

Captain Sherwill, in speaking of their religion, says, they pray to their deity to avert the evils of famine and disease; and to preserve them from wild beasts and venomous reptiles. They believe their gods can only be appeased or propitiated by living sacrifice; and the blood of the victim is eagerly gathered in small vessels retained for the purpose by the votaries.

Their priests are self-elected, and depend on their talents and sagacity for their maintenance.

Their weapons are the bow and arrow, formed of the bamboo or daman wood, and the string is made of the same material. Truth is held sacred among them; and if called on to swear, they do so on the skin of a tiger or on that of a live cat.

All their ceremonies, religious and joyous, are accompanied by feasting, drinking, and dancing. Four hundred women, with their hair highly ornamented with flowers, have been seen at one time, exhibiting in a ring, in long strings of dancers, in rows of twenty or thirty each from a common centre. They lay hold with one hand on each other's cinctures or waistbands, and keep time by striking their heels on the ground.

The musicians are men decorated with long peacock's feathers, who dance in front of the women, facing them; and exhibiting wild and fantastic attitudes, at the same time, regulating the figure of the dance. On such occasions, the musicians are usually intoxicated: not so the females.

In the same neighbourhood occurs the tribe of the Mallers or Mallis. They give names to Malda and Malipur.

To the southward and eastward, are the Sunktas and Kukis tribes, which closely resemble the Sonthals and Garrows in their national peculiarities.

Colonel Tod, Sir H. Elliot, and the Rev. H. Buchanan Hamilton, are my authorities for stating that the pastoral tribes (though they probably followed the hunting race) once held dominion over the greater part of Northern India. They are now scattered, but they were the rulers of Nípal in the beginning of the Christian era. They are mentioned in the Puránas (comparatively modern Sanskrit works) as having reigned in the west of Guzerat and Malwa, under the name of Abhíras. They were expelled by the Cattis, who took their place in the middle of the ninth century; and from them the territory of the Abhíras has received the name of Cattywar.

Having disposed in a summary way of the pastoral tribes, I shall

proceed to give in detail the information I have collected of the hunting tribes, and I shall first direct attention to those which are found still to occupy the regions where the Bengali, the Hindi, and the Urdu languages prevail. In these races, Sir Henry Elliot and Buchanan Hamilton continue to be my best authorities.

BENGIES.—The Bengies, who are found, from Bengala, as far north-west even as Delhi, probably gave name to the territory so called. They are of the lowest class of human beings, are occupied in the meanest offices, and they even consider the care of dogs (regarded by the Hindus as unclean) a privilege. In many parts they have embraced the Mahomedan religion, and affect some of the practices of the Hindus. They feed on all animal food, and are deemed outcasts. In the Mahomedan armies, they have exhibited great valour, and as indigenes they claim the honour of leading storming-parties in the attack of forts.

BHAR.—Next in order come the Bhars. They are also called Raj-Bhar, Bharat, and Bharatputra. Tradition assigns to them the possession of the whole tract of Gorakpur, as far west as Bandelkand and Sagar. Many old stone forts, embankments, and caverns, between Allahabad and Azimgarh, ascribed to them, indicate no inconsiderable progress in civilization. The name extends as far west as Marwar, where they perform the most menial offices, and are employed in keeping swine. They retain still a few principalities in the hills eastward of Mirzapur, where they are styled Rajas. They are also found as far south as Cheinpur and Bijaygarh.

CHERIS.—The Cheris appear to be the aborigines of Ghazipur, a part of Gorakpur, the southern portion of Benares at Mirzapur, and are by some deemed to be a branch of the Bhars. Their features have a decided affinity to the aboriginal tribes of the Vindhya mountains. Though reduced in numbers to a few families, they cling to their ancient dignity, by installing the head of every small community of five or six families with the title of Raja, and of going through the ceremony of applying the *tilak*, a round spot of fresh blood on the forehead, as a token of royalty. This practice will be more particularly alluded to hereafter. They retained some power as late as the sixteenth century, when, according to Elliott, Mahouta, a Cheri chieftain of Behar, defended his castle for a lengthened period against Shere Shah, afterwards Emperor of Delhi. On this occasion, Shere Shah's army experienced a heavy loss, owing to the obstinacy with which the place was defended. Tradition says the Cheris were expelled from beyond the Jumna by the Rajpoots conquering eastward; and that the people of the same name in the neighbourhood of

Etawa, who are now the cultivating serfs, are the descendants of those who refused to quit their lands, though compelled to give the produce to their conquerors. This appears to have been frequently the case elsewhere.

KOLES.—These are intermingled, in the north, with the Cheris, but farther south, they are wholly distinct. Their occupations are now of the most servile kind, while Saktisgarh, originally Kolwana, and the district of Kolo Asla, in the district of Benares, testify their former importance.

Sir H. Elliot thinks, from their similarity of habits and condition, that they have a common origin with the Kolis in the west. It is from this tribe the emigrants denominated Hill Coolies are derived, which supply labour to the Mauritius.

DHANUK.—This tribe is composed of fowlers and archers. They abound chiefly in Behar, but are found as far west and north as Delhi, and are of the aboriginal race.

DOMES.—The late Mr. Trail has left a valuable memoir of this tribe. They are undoubtedly an aboriginal race, with all the peculiarities that belong to it, and which differ so entirely from those of the Hindus. They once had considerable power in Kamaun; and the names of several forts called after them, prove their former importance. They are now reduced to the condition of serfs of the soil, both in Kamaun and as far away south as Cattaek. Buchanan Hamilton believes they expelled the Tirhus from Tirhut, and were themselves expelled by the Bhars.

DHER.—Of this tribe, Elliot has only a few words to say. He calls them “a low caste, found in the Sagor territory. They eat all sorts of dead animals, and sell the skins to curriers and tanners.”

It is a remarkable fact that the Mahomedans who came from Hindustan give the same appellation to all the village serfs in the Dekhan, a name unknown to themselves, or the Hindus by whom they were enslaved.

I have now given some account of those tribes of the aborigines occupying the eastern portion of Upper India; namely, the Southals, the Garrows, the Bengies, the Bhars, the Cheris, the Tirhus, the Koles, the Dhers, the Dhanuks, and the Domes. Of these, numbers of the Southals, the Bengies, and the Cheris have embraced the Mahomedan faith; but they still intermarry with their own unconverted tribes. I shall now ask you to follow me to the westward, and proceeding thence to the south, and subsequently along the eastern coast northward, we shall arrive at the point from whence we started.

MINA.—The first tribe I come to is that of the Mina. Colonel Tod, who lived for many years in the country they inhabit, states that many of them had embraced the Mahomedan faith; but, with the exception of abstaining from swine's flesh, they adopt none of the Moslim customs or tenets. They everywhere retain their primitive habits; and when they cannot obtain a wife among the Mahomedan Minas, they marry one of the tribe not born in that faith.

In some places they are still serfs of the soil; in others they hold lands, for the use of which they pay heavy rents to the Hindu lords. Like all the aboriginal race, they claim to be the real proprietors of the land, and they remind each other of this right in the following distich:

“ Bhág-rá dhani Ráj ho,
Bhúm-rá dhani Máj ho.”

“ The Raja is proprietor of his share:
I am the proprietor of the land.”

The Minas occupy the districts of Ambír and Jaipur, and enjoy, even in their serfage, many highly valued privileges. Among others is that of the remarkable practice which takes place on the accession to the throne, by the Rajput Raja of Nerwar. On this occasion, a Mina is required to apply the “tika,” or “tilaka,” the red spot emblematical of royalty, on the forehead of the new sovereign. This is done by blood drawn from the toe of a Mina. In default of this ceremony, the recognition of the prince would not be complete on the part of the aborigines, nor could their loyalty be depended on. As it is, they are deemed so faithful, that they are selected to guard the palace and the treasury at Nerwar, and to form the only escort attendant on the princesses when they go abroad.

MÍR.—Westward of the Minas, we arrive at the province of Mírwara, called after the aboriginal tribe of Mírs. The forts of Ajmír, Jesselmír, and Combelmír attest their former power. A tribe of the same name is found among the population inhabiting the valleys of the Himalaya. The Mírs, like other tribes, have embraced the Mahomedan faith, but they preserve their original customs, and intermarry in their clans, whether Mahomedan or otherwise. They reside in and on the outskirts of the Aravali mountains, and extend from the desert as far south as the neighbourhood of Udayapur.

Colonel Dixon's report of this people has lately been published by the Court of Directors of the East India Company, and forms the fullest account of their former history, and their present condition, since they were brought under the British authority. The reform

which he effected in their civil habits, and the purpose to which he has made use of them as good soldiers, shows of what they are capable. According to tradition, they are much intermixed with the Rajput race. This they account for by stating that the latter, when hard pressed by the Mahomedan arms in early times, fled to the hills, and intermarried with the Mírs. These, as they now exist, therefore, assume the privilege of being considered true Hindus. The admission of Colonel Dixon, however, as to their habits, at once removes all claim to such pretensions. A similar title is by some set forth in a neighbouring and extensive tribe, of which I shall speak hereafter. The Mírs, according to Colonel Dixon (though claiming some Hindu affinity), "are perfectly regardless of all the forms enjoined as to ablution, the preparation of food, and other ceremonies. They offer sacrifices to several deities wholly unknown to the Hindus; among others is the personified goddess of small-pox and of other diseases. They partake freely of the flesh of all animals, not excepting the cow and the buffalo, and they drink copiously of spirituous liquors."

They perform festivals for the dead, on which occasion all clansmen are invited to join. Their widows marry the younger brother of their deceased husbands. They have no priests, excepting those who are skilful in witchcraft, in which art they implicitly believe. Before they were reclaimed, they made inroads into all the villages on the plains, and carrying off men and cattle, retained them till ransomed. They levied black-mail throughout their fastnesses, and in every respect followed the practices of the aborigines elsewhere.

They are at present remarkable for their fidelity, truth, and honesty; and, as has been before stated, have proved excellent and well-disciplined soldiers, attacking without remorse those who disturb the peace of the country; and, as Colonel Dixon vouches, escorting and guarding as prisoners even their own relatives when placed under their charge.

BHILS.—In close contact with the Mírs commences the tribe of Bhils and Naikras. The latter inhabit the hills between Dongarpur, Banswara, and Junagarh. They hold themselves superior to other tribes of Bhils, and are probably descendants of certain ancient Bhil chieftains. North of the Nerbudda the Bhils retain their original habits; but in the valley called Nimar many have become Mahomedans, exercising as much or as little Mahomedanism as suits their purpose. They extend over a very large space of country; commencing at Udayapur, on the north in Mewar they occupy the eastern watershed of the Western Ghats, as far south as Nassick. They form

the chief population of Nimar, from Rajpipla on the west, as far as Gondwana on the east; and inhabit all the branches of the western mountains running eastward, including the Vindhya, the Sâtpura on the north, and the Sahyâdri, south of the valley of Candesh. The practice of affixing the bloody spot on the forehead of princes, on their accession, is performed by a Bhil when a new Rana of Udayapur (the highest in rank of all the Hindu sovereigns in India) ascends the throne. One branch of this tribe is denominated Ujla, or the Fair Bhils. Their colour is accounted for by their having received among them, on the invasion of the Mahomedans, the refugee Rajputs who escaped the Moslim slaughter, which usually occurred on the storming of the Rajput forts. On such occasions, the Rajputs, when they lost all hope of further successful defence, rather than surrender themselves and their families to perpetual slavery and degradation, put to death their females and children, and awaited the result of the storm. At that time, with a short tunic round their loins, well girt up, and with their swords and shields in their hands, they bathed, and, dripping wet, rushed upon the enemy. In such cases most of them perished, but those who forced their way through the enemy's ranks, retired into the hills, and became amalgamated with that tribe now denominated Ujla Bhils: hence their dissimilarity in appearance from other tribes of the same race. The Bhils, under the denomination of Kirât, are mentioned in the ancient Hindu heroic poem, the Mahâbhârata, wherein it is stated a follower of the Bhil Chief of Maheswara, on the Nerbudda, slew with an arrow the demigod Krishna, on his retreat towards Guzerat, after the celebrated battle of the Kurus and Pandus, the period of which has not yet been fixed.

This race has been described by several authors (namely, Sir John Malcolm, Colonel Tod, Captain Dangerfield, and Captain Hunter) some years ago. The latter says of them: "The fidelity to their acknowledged chief, termed Naig, is very remarkable; and so strong is their attachment, that in no situation nor condition, however desperate, can they be induced to betray him. If old and decrepid, they will carry him from place to place, to save him from his enemies." Each clan is distinguished by their arrows having the feathers fastened on in a peculiar manner, and a message from one clan to another is known to be real when the bearer brings a chieftain's arrow with him. Colonel Tod mentions an instance of this sort. The wife of an absent chieftain afforded protection to one of the Colonel's messengers through the country by giving him one of her husband's arrows, the sight of which acted like a charm, and procured for him in the densest forests all his wants, and absolute protection.

I have already stated that, as they claim all the land, of which they say they have been forcibly dispossessed, they consider themselves at liberty to levy tribute or taxes on travellers passing through their country, and even for protection afforded to the inhabitants of the plain. Like the hill-tribes in the Khyber and other passes into Afghanistan, the Bhils require even armed bodies to pay them tribute in passing through their mountains. They have, in more than one instance, succeeded in plundering all the baggage of Mahratta armies; and in some cases have actually received money for a free passage. On the occasion of the return of the first and third divisions of the Madras army, under the Commander-in-chief, Sir Thos. Hislop, in the month of February, 1818, the Bhils of Nimar had the audacity to demand £20,000 to permit it to pass their mountains. This proposal was of course rejected with indignation, and the Bhils, to the number of several hundreds, lined the pass from one end to the other. The British cavalry and artillery passed on without molestation, but when the long line of baggage had fairly entered the defile, the marauders, like Clan Alpine's men described in *The Lady of the Lake*, rose from every bush, and behind each rock, and rushed down to the attack. Here they were warmly received by some troops dispersed among the baggage; but what was their surprise to find the crest and sides of the mountains already occupied by the greater portion of the British infantry, who, coming down upon them from above, compelled them to retreat precipitately, with the loss of from seventy to eighty of their number left dead in the pass. These same Bhils were afterwards reclaimed by firm but just measures of conciliation, and in a few months returned to the villages of which they were the hereditary watchmen, and proved the most faithful guardians of the treasure, and the most efficient police in the world; since when a portion of them has been entertained as a local militia, which has become a most useful and effective aid to the civil authorities in the province of Candesh.

Bishop Heber, in passing through the hilly tract of the Aravali, notices the wild habits of the Bhils. He was much struck with their open and manly appearance, with their bows and arrows, which reminded him of the description of the followers of Robin Hood in olden times in England.

KOLIS.—West of the Bhils lies the aboriginal race of Koli, probably a branch of the Koles of the eastern part of India. They occupy the country along the western side of the Aravali and Sahyádrí Ghats, as far south as Goa. They are, on the coast, expert boatmen, and tend all the ferries in the Dekhan. Their occupation is

that of fishermen; otherwise they are the menials of villages and towns, as are the aborigines elsewhere.

Under our government the aborigines meet with more consideration than under that of the natives. They are the porters and day-labourers on the sea-coasts; and it seems likely that the word "coolly" (now applied to persons of that description through India by Europeans in general) has been adopted from the employment of those of Western India before any other part of the coast was visited. In the Konkan, north of Bombay, are two tribes, denominated Waralis and Koralis, described by the Rev. Dr. Wilson, in the Journal of the Bombay branch of this Society. The latter extend as far north as the banks of the Nerbudda, where they are spoken of by Captain Rigby.

MHARS.—The Mhars are the aborigines and the village serfs of Mhar-rashtra (the Mahratta country), so called after them; and the

MANGS give name to a part of the same country south of the Bhima river.

These two tribes require no further mention than the bare fact of their existence in those localities. A great jealousy exists between them against encroachment on the territorial limits of each.

RAMUSIS.—When Sivaji, the founder of the Mahratta dynasty, first encroached on the Mogul power, he made use of the hill-tribes called Mawalis (the inhabitants of the *mawals*, or valleys and table-lands of the Sahyádrí mountains) to effect his purpose. At the same time, he invited the Hindu Zemindars (of whom he was one) of the neighbouring countries, to send into his service their village serfs. They willingly obeyed the summons; and these eventually became the active, steady, and faithful infantry that first obtained possession of, and afterwards retained for him, the numerous hill-forts which afforded him so many rallying points among his native fastnesses.

These tribes came from the provinces of Telingana on the east and Karnataka on the south. Not being attached to any of the Mahratta villages, they necessarily bivouacked in the open air; and being always in the field, they obtained the appellation of Ramoussi or Ramusis, or Foresters. Such is the history attached to their introduction into the Mahratta country. They are undoubtedly strangers, inasmuch as they are divided into two clans, denominated Barki and Halga; the former speaking the Telugu or Telinga language, and the latter the Canareso. Moreover, these are the names of aboriginal tribes in the two provinces from whence they came. To Captain (now Major) McKintosh, of the Madras army, we are indebted for very ample

details of the manners, habits, and religion of the Ramusis, which are to be found not only in our own Journal, but more especially in that of the Madras Literary Society. These accounts confirm fully the notion of their belonging to the aborigines.

BEDARS.—Proceeding south, we come to the Bedars, a tribe whose ancestors laid the foundation of the city of that name, and which extends throughout the territory wherein the Canarese language is spoken. They were not entirely subdued by the Hindus, nor even by the Mahomedans. The Raja of Sorapur, in the heart of the Nizam's country, still holds his patrimonial appanage, surrounded by his faithful tribe, claiming a descent of more than thirty centuries; and up till the middle of the last century, and even till the end of it, Bedar chiefs, with their clans around them, retained considerable power in Mysore and the districts east of it.

It was only about the middle of the last century that the several Bedar principalities fell before the arms of Haidar Ali in Mysore. He had a high respect for their courage, and so great confidence in their fidelity, that a body of two hundred Bedar spearmen, ran beside him, whether on horseback or in his palankeen, and always guarded his tent at night. We shall have to speak of this tribe hereafter.

In many parts of the Dekhan, as well as in the south, these tribes, under the native governments, formed a local militia, and were remunerated by waste lands given up to them to cultivate. Where they formed the garrisons of hill-forts, the land within the range of the guns was allotted to these local troops, free of tax.

Quitting Mysore, we enter on the region of the slave tribes. They are still the predial serfs of the soil, and have attracted the notice of European philanthropists. They consist of the Cherumars of Malabar; of the Curumbas of Canara. In Cochin and Travancore are found both the Cherumars and Vedars, the latter extending into Ceylon, and the Marawas on the extreme south. Proceeding northward from thence we encounter in Tinevelly and Coimbatore the Kallars, or, as we call them, Colaries. In Tanjore, the Pullars. In the provinces of South and North Arcot, the Pallies and the Parics, or Parias.

The term Cherumar, in the Tamil language, implies "children of the soil," in the south, as does Bhunia, the common term in use for these tribes, in the north. The Brahmans even acknowledge them to be the first occupants of it, and hence recognize them as the aborigines, though with little acquaintance of their origin.

In the north, Buchanan Hamilton states that agrestic slavery prevails in the following districts of Bengal and Behar :—

Dacca.	Rangpur.
Jelalpur.	Dinajpur.
Bakerganj.	Purniah.
Silhet.	

Sir H. Elliot speaks of the agrestic slavery prevalent in the district of Etawa, on the banks of the Jumna; Colonel Tod refers to it in central India; and in the south, the Parliamentary Returns exhibit the following numbers in the under-mentioned provinces of the Peninsula.

North and South Arcot	20,000
Tanjore	8,000
Travancore	130,000
Cochin	12,000
Malabar	95,000
Canara	82,000
	<hr/>
	347,000

This return does not include women and children, which, if we assume four to each family, would give 1,390,000 souls.

By an Act of the British Government, they are pronounced to be free; but of what use is the freedom, which, if claimed, would compel them to quit those lands cultivated by their ancestors from time immemorial, the produce of which has for ages been assigned to their conquerors?

As we proceed northward from Madras, we still continue to find aboriginal tribes, not recognised as serfs of the soil altogether, but as village servants. There are, however, some hill-tribes which merit our consideration. The Rev. Dr. Taylor discovered a tribe called Yenedy, in the neighbourhood of the Pulicat lake, twenty-three miles north of Madras. He states them to be extremely shy, living in the woods, and bartering game, honey, wax, and drugs for grain, which they do not cultivate. On reading his paper describing these people before the Literary Society of Madras, the President, Mr. A. D. Campbell, appended a note to it, when published, of considerable value. In it he states: "I am quite certain that this is an account of the wild people of the Pulicat lake, in the zemindari of Sri Hari-Kotah, whom I saw many years ago, caught like monkeys by the peons of the collector. The women could not count more than four or five, and said, with their infants at their breasts, that they (the mothers) were only three or four months or years old. They had no notion of time, still less of religion. I have no doubt they are similar to

the Bhils and Khonds, but they are certainly not, like the Khonds, cannibals."

The Rev. Dr. Taylor speaks of another tribe of aborigines, termed Chenchis: they were met with by him twenty miles from Madras, and skirting the hills of Mysore. Buchanan Hamilton also met them in the centre of Mysore, in 1800, and describes them; and Captain Newbold encountered the same people in the Nalla-Malla hills, lying between Cammam and Bûdwal. He describes the encounter thus: "They inhabit clearings in the retired parts of the forest, one of which I unexpectedly entered while on a shooting excursion near Pacherlu, in the Nandi Cammana pass. The huts had walls of wickerwork, about three feet high, and conical roofs of straw, with a sort of screen thrown in the front of a low entrance. The men, nearly in a state of nudity, were lying outside here and there fast asleep, in the sun, tired probably with watching or hunting wild beasts during the night; while the women (rather more decently clad) were preparing their food, or nursing their children. A number of large dogs instantly attacked the intruder, but were kept at bay by the butt end of a gun, till their masters awoke and came to the rescue.

"On questioning them as to their ideas of a future state, they replied—'they knew not whether there was a God or not; never having been instructed. Did not know what was to become of them after death, nor of any future rewards or punishments.'"

Besides the Chenchiwars of Telingana, there are other aboriginal tribes, such as the Kamiwars, Yelniwars, Barki, Dondassi, Bandi pote, and Talliar. All these live more or less by theft when in the woods; and when not attached to villages as police.

GONDS.—So late as 1817, very little was known of the various aboriginal tribes, for Sir R. Jenkins in his admirable Report on the Nagpur country, observes: "The Gonds are mentioned in the historical poems of the Hindus as being a powerful nation or tribe in early times: may they not have been one of the primitive people of India conquered by the Hindus, and the remnant driven to the hills?" His census of the whole population of Gondwana at that time gave 2,470,000 inhabitants, spread over a surface of 70,000 square miles, a great part of which is an impenetrable forest. This affords a population of only 40 to the square mile, and includes all classes of the subjects of the Raja of Nagpur, Hindu and Mahomedan. The Gonds are subdivided into seven or eight different clans. They differ in hardly any respect from the aborigines found elsewhere.

On the east of Gondwana, and intimately assimilated with its people, are the aboriginal tribes of Orissa (Uria-desa) the land of the

Urias. This territory lies between the eastern mountains and the sea-coast: having the Chilka lake for its southern, and the port of Pipla for its northern boundary. It is occupied by the Saurahs, the Bandarwas, and the Khonds. For whatever information we possess on the subject of these tribes, we are mainly indebted to the labours of Captain S. Chartres Macpherson, who has published largely on the subject in our Transactions; and who, at a late meeting of this society, read an interesting paper, going into further details.

He conceives that the Hindu race did not enter Uria-desa till about the year A.D. 473, nor did they attain the zenith of their power till the ninth century. They introduced their municipal form of government, as elsewhere, into the plain, but the aborigines were unsubdued, and continue so till this day. Professor Wilson, in vol. xvii. of the Asiatic Researches, p. 204, has a note, in which he observes: "It may be credulity or calumny, but the Bhils and other hill-tribes are constantly accused by Sanskrit writers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as addicted to the sanguinary worship of Aglūrī, which required human sacrifices. The Vrihat Katha is full of stories to this effect, the scene of which is in the Vindhya mountains." Sir Richard Jenkins states, that human victims were sacrificed in some parts of Gondwana within a recent period; but the Hindu chiefs have now almost every where succeeded in abolishing them. It is beyond all doubt that human sacrifices are still practiced among the Khonds and the Sauras. They are made on the three following occasions:

1st—Annually, to propitiate the Earth God to favour agriculture. After the victim is slain, his blood and pieces of his flesh are distributed among the bystanders, to be strewed over their fields.

*2nd—Whenever the health of the society is seriously affected, as in the case of small-pox or cholera, or in the event of murrain among cattle.

3rd—Whenever any sudden calamity affects the patriarch, his family, or estate.

On all these occasions, a human victim ought to be sacrificed; but if there is not one ready, then a goat must suffice. Captain Macpherson discovered, at a later period than when he wrote his first report, that there are two branches of Khonds, the one of which sacrifice human victims, and the other goats, the latter having been forbidden by the voice of a divinity from continuing their former practice any longer. There are still one or two tribes among the eastern hills of Bengal which retain the custom of offering human victims to the manes of their deceased chiefs; and it seems to me very likely that such

sacrifices were universal among the aborigines, before the western races of Hindus invaded the country and put them down.

The Khonds border on the Sonthals, and the latter merge into the Garrows, &c. Mr. B. H. Hodgson, who resided for many years as Resident at Nepaul, has published several papers in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta* on the tribes inhabiting the valleys of the Himalaya, lying between the eastern provinces of Bengal and the great table-land of Thibet, so called by the western Moslims, but Bhutan by the Hindus. His first essay appeared in 1847, after which, till his arrival in England, he spared no pains to ascertain what relation these people bore to the Bhutias on the east, and to the Tamilian or aboriginal tribes in India. It is satisfactory for me to find that he arrives at the same conclusion with myself: namely, that from their physical attributes and creeds, customs and legends, as well as from their language, they are all closely affiliated, and are all of Thibetan or Bhutan origin.

He describes the physiognomy of the Hill Nepaulesc to be generally and normally of the Scythic or Mongolian type according to Blumenbach, in some cases passing into the Caucasian; and the figure he has given in the *Journal* exactly resembles those of the Sonthals given by Captain Sherwill.

"Face large and wide; bridge of the nose depressed; nostrils broad and expanded; cheek-bones high; mouth large, with protruding lips; upper lip long; jaws large; moustache small; no whisker, nor hair on the chest." This he considers the true Thibetan type.

Now the physiology of the Hindu, or Arian properly so called, differs in no respect from the Caucasian family of Blumenbach; that is to say, the present great European branch of the human family. It cannot therefore be by accident that the hill-races of India bear so strong a resemblance to the Scythian race. The Rev. Buchanan Hamilton, who saw specimens of this race, according to his own shewing, throughout Bengal and Behar, in the Vindhya Range, in Central India, and again on the Malabar coast, and to the east of Mysore, describes them all as "having high cheek-bones, broad flat noses, large lips, and faces inclined to roundness rather than oval."

Mr. Elliot describes the Garrows "with flat Caffre-like noses, eyes generally blue, large mouth, thick lips, face round and short. Some tie their hair on the crown of the head in a loose careless way, others crop it close. They bore holes in the ears, into which they introduce heavy rings of metal, and which in time stretch the lobes several inches long."

These peculiarities pervade the race wherever they are met.

Captain Rigby, who resided among the hill-tribes of Akrani and Nimár, lying to the north of Candesh, mentions three distinct branches; namely, the Katti, the Warali, and the Pauria Bhils. He observes of the most civilized of them, that their appearance differs from the Hindus—"the features being more flat, with low round foreheads, wide nostrils, and thicker lips." The British officers of the troops employed against them in 1816, came back with a notion that their features partook of the African negro, though they had long shaggy hair.

Captain Newbold, in speaking of the Chenchis, found by Buchanan Hamilton in Mysore, and by himself in the Nalla Malla hills, describes the men to be "rather low in stature, with small but animated features, having higher cheek-bones, flatter noses, and their nostrils more expanded, than the natives on the plain. Their eyes are black and piercing. Their hair, which they wear very long, and roll up in a knot at the top of the head, is not the frizzly hair of the Papuan or the Hottentot, but is more shaggy and straight than that of the Hindu."

Sir R. Jenkins, Colonel Vans Agnew, and Captain Fenwick, all three writing separately of the tribes of Gondwana in remote parts of the country, describe the Gonds to have the peculiar physiognomy of the other aborigines. "High cheek bones, broad and flat noses, thick expanded lips, long shaggy hair, but little or no beard." Captain Macpherson in his first report on the Khonds, the Sauras, and Bandarwas, remarks on their distinct physiognomy from the Hindus; and Captain Sherwill, speaking of the Southals so late as a few months ago, adverts to "their broad flat noses, and thick lips;" and in the figures he has given of them in the last Calcutta Journal, it will be perceived they have the decided Scythian features, which when once seen, can never be mistaken for the Caucasian or Iranian.

The existence of the Sanskritic race in India for three thousand two hundred years, has been already assumed; and it has been shewn that this people occupied the territory north of the Vindhya range for a period of nearly two thousand years ere they penetrated south. That the Sanskrit language then should have taken deep root in all the countries over which the Hindus held sway, is most natural, and the wonder is rather that any remains of the language of the aborigines should exist at all, than that traces of it should still be found.

Language is composed of two distinct elements—words, and grammatical constructions embracing idioms.

Sir W. Jones and Mr. Thomas H. Colebrooke, the former the founder of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, and the latter the founder of the

Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, were indubitably the most profound oriental scholars of their day. They divided the languages of India into northern and southern, pronouncing the former to consist of nine-tenths of words of Sanskrit origin; and the latter to be only intermingled largely with Sanskrit vocables, but having a separate origin from the languages of the north. These great philologists, however, never went so far as to trace the tenth portion of the non-Sanskrit words to their roots, nor to endeavour to account for the totally different construction of the northern languages abounding in Sanskrit words from the grammatical construction of the latter.

More than half a century has elapsed since the enunciations of the opinions of Sir W. Jones and Mr. Thomas H. Colebrooke; but our more intimate acquaintance of the languages of all parts of India now afford us an opportunity of examining this subject more closely.

Of those who have attended to the several vernacular tongues, we have, among lexicographers:

Gilchrist, Hunter, and Shakespeare, in Hindi.						
Reeves	..	..	..	..	..	in Karnataka.
Marshman	..	..	..	..	..	in Bengali.
Rottler	..	..	..	..	..	in Tamil.
Campbell	..	..	..	..	..	in Telugu.
Molesworth	..	..	..	..	..	in Mahratti.
Bailey	..	..	..	..	..	in Malayalam.

besides copious vocabularies in Guzerati, and in several other dialects. In the whole of these, we find traces more or less of words common to each other, but distinct from Sanskrit.

So little indeed are some of these languages indebted to the Sanskrit, that poems of pure Tamil still exist, according to Mr. Francis Ellis; while Oriental philologists in general speak of the various dialects of India partaking more or less of the Tamilian type.

As this is by far the most important part of the proof which belongs to the question of the aboriginal race, I shall be pardoned for demanding your indulgence on a subject rather abstruse than popular.

Of the persons who have made the analysis of these languages their study, none have been more zealous and more competent than the Rev. Doctor Stevenson of Bombay, and Mr. Hodgson of Nipal. The former admitted several years ago the propriety of Sir W. Jones' division of the northern group from the southern group of vernacular tongues. But the circumstance of the Sanskrit having taken such

strong hold on those of the north, has, I think, been well accounted for, in the fact of the Hindu race having possessed the country for more than thirty centuries, while again the comparatively more recent acquisition of the Dekhan, and the introduction of the language of the conquerors into the southern tongues, appear to be in the precise proportion of the length of time they have been under the Sanskritic sway. Hence we find a smaller amount of Sanskrit in the Tamil of the extreme south, than in the Telugu and Karnataka.

Dr. Stevenson, of Bombay, has taken great pains, in several numbers of the Journal of the Bombay branch of this Society, to adduce proofs of the total difference between the Sanskritic construction and those of the Tamilian family. He shows that the latter languages have sounds unknown to the Sanskrit, and unpronounceable by a Brahmin; that they have single words which represent compound terms in the Sanskrit and the European languages; that in the Tamilian languages prepositions are postpositions; that there are honorific terms for the same pronouns applied to different degrees of rank in persons, both in the singular and plural number; and, in short, that this peculiarity of grammatical structure pervades all the vernacular dialects of India from one end of it to another. Dr. Stevenson has, in the last number of the Journal alluded to, entered more fully than before on this subject, and has now traced not only the same non-Sanskritic words through the southern and northern dialects, but has exhibited similar words assuming a Sanskrit form. All his subsequent inquiries confirm a very early opinion which he ventured on this subject, in the following words:—"Such are the important particulars that my partial acquaintance with several of these languages has permitted me to observe, as running through the whole, or nearly the whole, of them; and they are surely sufficient to establish among them a strong family identity. This, too, when it is also remembered that for none of these characters are they indebted to the Sanskrit, it seems impossible to account for such a similarity in words and in grammatical structure in languages spoken by people having so little intercourse with one another as, for ages, the inhabitants of the north and south of India have had, unless we suppose it to arise from their being originally all of one family, and possessing one primitive language, the grammatical structure of which may be, in some measure or other, traced throughout the whole."

The same idea was entertained by Mr. Francis Ellis, the most erudite of our Tamil scholars, who somewhere terms that language a Tartar tongue. This notion seems now very commonly entertained by the philologists who have studied these aboriginal languages.

Dr. Rost, of Berlin, an excellent Sanskrit scholar, as well as versed in the languages of the south of India, finds them so closely allied to the Tartaric dialects of Thibet or Butan, that he does not hesitate to pronounce them to have a common origin.

Professor Westergaard, of Copenhagen, so late as 1846, writes to our valuable Assistant Secretary, Mr. Norris: "I never entertained any doubt of these languages (the dialects of India) being of Scythian origin, which term I adopt from Rask for the stock of languages usually called Tartar."

Professor Rask has distinctly stated the same opinion. I have myself gone through several vocabularies of languages picked up among the hill-tribes, both in the east and west of India, and have discovered numerous words in some having similar significations in others; *but not Sanskrit*.

The language of the Gonds so much resembles the dialects of the south, that the American missionaries speaking Canarese were understood, and conversed with the Gonds at Amar Kantak. The vocabulary of Dr. Bradley, supplied to the Bombay Branch of this Society, of the language of a hill-tribe at Gyalgarh, contains so many words in common with the Gondi and the languages spoken by the hill-people to the east of Bengal, that Dr. Bird (President of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society) has arrived at the conclusion that these two languages have a common source with that of the Garrows, the Bhutias, and the hill-tribes of the Burmese.

Mr. B. H. Hodgson, of whom mention has been before made, obtained, through Captain Haughton, three vocabularies of the dialects of the Koles; two others from Chota Nagpur, through Colonel Ousely; one from Bhagalpur, through the Rev. Mr. Hurder; and another, from Colonel Sleeman, of the Jabalpur dialect. The five first he designates as dialects of the Great Koles, which he connects, on the one hand, without difficulty, with the Gonds, and, on the other, with the inhabitants of the Rajmahal Hills. Mr. Walter Elliot, of Madras, recognises in them affinities to the languages of Southern India, of which there can now be no doubt in the mind of any one examining these northern dialects who has a tolerable acquaintance with any of the southern tongues.

Since then, Mr. Hodgson has obtained other vocabularies of the aboriginal tongues, confirming fully the belief that they are all closely allied to each other, but are distinct from the Sanskrit.

Philologists regard grammatical construction as a more rigid test of the identity of language than mere words. In order to bring this discussion to that test, I have taken, hap-hazard, a sentence from the

Mahábhārata, a celebrated heroic poem in Sanskrit, and having caused it to be put into the order of prose, have caused the same to be translated into English, and into three out of the numerous, vernacular languages of India which have all the same construction, viz.—

Urdu, in the extreme north;
Mahratti, in the centre of India; and
Tamil, in the extreme south;

to which I have added the Turkish, a purely Scythian dialect.

The whole sentence in the Sanskrit runs thus—

Never does friendship undecayed in the world in the heart of any one remain.
Time surely it removes, anger or it changes also.
Do not then decayed friendship cherish—the existent discard.

The idiom of the Indian languages hardly admits of a close translation of these three lines. I have, however, taken the first line as an example of construction, and which, on examination, will be found to exhibit (though rendered word for word) a construction of the Sanskrit form, differing altogether from the construction of the Indian languages, the latter coinciding not only with each other, but also with the Turkish. It will be seen, too, that the Urdu, spoken in the north, is made up of Arabic and Persian nouns; that the Mahratti is composed of Sanskrit nouns; and that the Tamil is devoid of Sanskrit, as completely as is the Turkish.

COMPARISON OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE SANSKRIT WITH THE LANGUAGES OF INDIA, THE TURKISH, AND THE ENGLISH.

SANSKRIT	.....	Na	sukhyam	apuram	loke	hrdi	kasyachit	tishthati
		<i>Never (does) friendship undecayed in the world in the heart of any one remain.</i>						
URDU	.....	Dunya men	dosti	kist ke	dil men	kāim	kabhi nahin rahit	
MAHRATTI	.....	Prithvi t	snehe	koun cha	chit ant	stir	kadlu nahin rahit	
TAMIL	....	U'kat it	alla uravu	yavan uda	nenjat il um	kedānāl	niāfu	
		(that is)			(even)	(undecaying)	(remains not)	
TURKISH	..	Dunya da	mahabbat	kinse nin	dil in deli	kāim	hiç deydü dur.	
ENGLISH	..	The world in	the friendship	any one of	the heart in	stable	ever not remain	

Now can it be doubted after this, that all the vernacular dialects of India owe their origin to the Scythian tongues, rather than to the Sanskrit of their conquerors?

My task is now performed.

I have shewn that the Hindus from the west, at a very remote period, invaded India, bringing with them the Sanskrit language. That they found the country inhabited by another race which they

conquered, divided their lands among themselves, and enslaved the aborigines. That these aborigines still exist in vast numbers in all parts of India, some as rural or agrestic serfs, in Hindu villages, while others retain their primitive habits in unreclaimed forests and mountains. That the Hindus introduced municipal institutions in their towns, and profess a faith distinct from the aborigines, who differ from them in appearance and in habits. Moreover, that all the aborigines have one common source, and that their language, their features, and their customs, point them out as a branch of the great Scythian family, which from time to time emerged from the Himalayan mountains on the east, and peopled India before the western or Arian race arrived and conquered them.

With the feeble lights afforded us by history, appearing at intervals of many centuries, it would have been impossible to have traced the origin of these two races, had it not been for the singular institutions of the Hindus, comprised in the rules of caste, which, while they preclude the admission of proselytes into their religion, at the same time prohibit intermarriage with any other people.

Before I conclude, I beg to be allowed to say a few words on the present and future condition of these aborigines. They still continue almost everywhere in a state of ignorance and bondage, the latter certainly of a very mild character, under a highly-civilized and Christian government. I have shewn what is their doom according to the Hindu law, and under Hindu dominion. Is it fit or just that so vast a population should continue neglected under our rule? In their native forests, they are little elevated above the animals they feed upon, but still they have qualities which are highly appreciable in civil life. They are faithful, truthful, and attached to their superiors, ready at all times to lay down their lives for those they serve, and are remarkable for their indomitable courage. These qualities have been always displayed in our service. The aborigines of the Carnatic were the sepoys of Clive and of Coote. A few companies of the same stock joined the former great captain from Bombay, and fought the battle of Plassey, in Bengal, which laid the foundation of our Indian empire. They have since distinguished themselves in the corps of pioneers and engineers, not only in India, but in Ava, in Afghanistan, and in the celebrated defence of Jelalabad. An unjust prejudice against them has grown up in the armies of Madras and Bombay, where they have done best service, produced by the feelings of contempt for them existing among the Hindu and Mahomedan sepoys. They have no prejudices themselves, are always ready to serve abroad, and embark on board ship, and I believe no instance of mutiny has ever occurred among them.

It is to be regretted that separate regiments of this race are not more generally enlisted. While on this subject, I will take advantage of the moment to advert to a circumstance which has hitherto been little understood; namely, the source of the hostility which exists between the right and left hand castes, under the Madras presidency.

I have stated that in former times many of our troops were derived from the despised race of aborigines, who, proud of the consideration they met with from their European officers, did not hesitate on certain occasions to adopt the customs of the Hindus (their natural superiors). This was particularly the case when they performed marriage or other civil ceremonies. Then the bride and bridegroom rode on horseback, with an awning or umbrella carried over their heads, and they were attended by musicians preceding them in the marriage procession. To these processions, the artisans, being Hindus, were opposed, and desperate conflicts, accompanied by loss of life, ensued. That of greatest historical note occurred at Seringapatam, shortly after its capture, when so obstinate was the contest between the combatants, that the European soldiery and guns were actually employed, before they could be separated. Similar conflicts have since occasionally happened, and have not been put an end to without the interference of troops. The rule seems to be, now, that the low castes (as the aborigines are termed) may use what forms they please outside the town; but not bring their processions through its streets.

A similar prejudice, on the part of the Hindus, exists against the aborigines building permanent houses within or without towns, whatever may be their condition. At Nellore, several years ago, a riot ensued, in consequence of a Paria of wealth attempting to build an angular-shaped brick-house out of the town, the Hindus insisting on his dwelling being a round mud hovel, covered with thatch. In Candesh, within my own time, a Koli native officer made a complaint of a similar nature, and it was not without difficulty the matter was arranged.

But to return to the subject of their fidelity and self-devotion, I need only quote two of the remarkable instances mentioned by Wilks, the elegant historian of the South of India.

I have before stated that till a late period the Bedars enjoyed principalities in Mysore. They might (had they united at the dissolution of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar) have re-established a great Bedar sovereignty; but they were jealous of each other, and thus became an easy prey to the vigorous rule of Haidar Ali.

Among other aboriginal chiefs in the south, was the Naig of Chit-

Chittledroog, who enjoyed a principality in the heart of Mysore, yielding a revenue of £10,213 sterling. On the invasion of Mysore, by the Mahrattas, under Madhu Rao Peshwa, in the year 1770, he was joined by a band of Bedars, under the Naig of Chittledroog. They used no missiles, but bore a spear from ten to fifteen feet long, and their invariable national weapon, the bill-hook. The Mahrattas, at the head of 70,000 men, were detained for three months before the small fort of Nijkul, into which Haidar Ali had thrown 3000 of his best soldiers. At length, the approaches were carried close to the walls, a practicable breach was effected, and the Mahrattas twice stormed, but were on both occasions repulsed. The Peshwa's brother was seriously wounded in the last attack, and Madhu Rao then resolved to head the storming party himself, and to carry the place, or die in the attempt. The Naig of Chittledroog, whose troops had been kept in reserve, now volunteered to lead the next storm with the Bedars, offering, in case of his own return without success, his head as the forfeit of failure. Wilks, who tells the story, says: "Bij-Katti-Verma, the Naig of Chittledroog, placed himself at the head of his brave Bedars, and on this occasion carried the place, on the 1st May, 1770, in a style of gallantry which excited the admiration of the whole army."

Haidar Ali never forgave this memorable instance of devotion towards his enemy; and this feeling became the ground of that hostility which ended in the destruction of the little independent state of Chittledroog, some years afterwards.

This strong and nearly impregnable hill-fort was besieged by Haidar in 1776. "The siege," says Wilks, "continued for three months, with more perseverance than skill on the side of the besiegers—on the part of the besieged with a mixture of enthusiastic fatalism which is strongly characteristic of the Bedar race. A temple, dedicated to the goddess who delights in blood, was erected on the summit of the Dûrg (or hill-fort), 800 feet high; and as long as her rites should be duly performed, the Bedars believed that their fortress would be inaccessible. On every Monday, after performing their devotion to the goddess, the garrison made a religious sortie. This, after a few repetitions, was as regularly known in the camp of the besiegers as in the fort. A particular sound of the horn always gave intimation that they had finished their preparatory devotions, and were about to sally. Everything was known to the enemy, except the exact point of attack; and, notwithstanding all the advantages of preparation on the part of the besiegers, the Bedars never once returned without penetrating into the trenches, and carrying away a

certain number of heads to offer to the shrine of the deity. The heads were ranged in rows of small pyramids in regular order, in front of the temple of the goddess, to the number of about 2000." The siege was eventually raised; but the place was again attacked two years afterwards, and fell into Haidar's hands by the treachery of a Mahomedan saint, who had been sent for the purpose of establishing himself near one of the gates, which he was inadvertently permitted to do for several months before the second siege. The fidelity of the Bedar population towards their prince is forcibly illustrated by Wilks. "During the two sieges, Haidar had found the natives of the territory (chiefly Bedars) adhering to their chief with unconquerable attachment. No severity of military execution could restrain persons of each sex, and every age, from risking their lives with the constancy and exultation of martyrs, for the purpose of carrying to the besieged such supplies as an incessant succession of individuals could convey. To subsist his own army exclusively on the resources of the country, to consume all its provisions to the amount of nearly half a million sterling, was of no avail; and he was at length induced to sweep off the whole population, which now consisted only of those who had the patriotism to devote themselves to the service of their besieged friends, all the rest having long before sought refuge from the merciless Mahomedan soldiery in the woods or in other provinces. The number carried off amounted to 20,000 souls, who were all compelled to embrace the Mahomedan religion."

What might the British Government not expect from soldiers of this type, who have ever exhibited the same character in our armies; but who have, it is much to be regretted, been neglected as men of low caste.

Ignorant of the use of letters, outcasts from the rest of the population, without any religion but that of a sanguinary or demoniacal worship, having little or no idea of a future state, their minds are unshackled by any of the deep-rooted prejudices of either Hindus or Mahomedans; and if ever the efforts of the missionary are to be successful in the East, it is upon this race the attempt should be first made. The task has fortunately been begun, and both the Rev. Dr. Stevenson, Dr. Wilson, and others at Bombay, and the Rev. W. Taylor, Mr. Fox, and his colleagues, on the opposite coast, are gradually making progress among them. On the shores of Ava we find that several worthy American missionaries, male and female, have succeeded among the Kariens, an aboriginal and despised race, like those of India; while among the Buddhistic Burmese the pro-

gress of Christianity, as among the Hindus, is slow, and, on the whole, unsatisfactory.

Before I conclude this lecture, it seems proper I should mention, that it was not till a few days since I had an opportunity of perusing the series of papers on the same subject, published between the years 1847 and 1849, by Mr. B. H. Hodgson, the late Resident at Nipal; my own papers on the aborigines having been read before the Ethnological Society of London at a prior period. While I was culling from the Transactions of this Society, and other independent sources, proofs of my hypothesis of the aborigines throughout all parts of India being of one common stock, Mr. Hodgson was labouring on the spot, among the Himalaya Mountains, on the same subject, and arrived at a similar conclusion.

It is to me a source of singular gratification that my views should so entirely coincide with those of a philosopher who has devoted so much of his life in researches of this nature. He is of opinion that there is an identity, both in physiognomy and philology of the several aboriginal races of India, which, while it stamps them of one stock, distinguishes them from the Arian race. He declares his conviction that all the aborigines of India are Northmen of the Scythic stem; but he hesitates in pronouncing positively from which of the three great branches they are derived. His own opinion, however, inclines him to think that all those found to the east of the river Dhausri, in Assam, belong to the Chinese; while those to the west, which include all I have described, belong to the Thibetan branch. Of these he speaks decidedly. The aborigines of India are all of the Tamilian family: they are, he says, now for the most part British subjects. They are counted by millions, extending from the snows to the Cape [Comorin]. Yes, in every jungly or hilly tract there exist hundreds of thousands of human beings not materially different from the Germans as described by Tacitus. These primitive races are the ancient heritors of the whole soil, from all the rich and open parts of which they were driven by the usurping Hindus.

He speaks of his own labours, however, as mere fragments of a whole, which may yet be brought together by large and careful induction; concluding by this sensible reflection, that "modern ethnology has accomplished elsewhere still more brilliant feats than this, throwing upon the great ante-historic movements of nations a light as splendid as useful."

It is true that further materials may be wanting to render the inquiry more complete; but it must be admitted that there is already sufficient evidence to determine the ethnological question of the

aborigines of India being of a Scythian origin; while, again, the Hindus come from the Caucasian stock from an opposite direction. Such investigations by our members evince the great utility of a Society like this, adding year after year additional knowledge to every branch of scientific research, and fulfilling the main object of the original Asiatic Society of India, which was intended to embrace within the scope of its inquiries whatever concerns the history of man or the products of nature in the region of Asia.

ART. XIV.—*Translation of the Takwiyat-ul-Imán, preceded by a Notice of the Author, MAULAVI ISMA'IL HAJJI. By MIR SHAHAMAT ALI.*

MAULAVI ISMA'IL was the nephew of Maulavi Sháh Abd-ul-Azíz, whose family is yet universally held in great veneration and respect at Delhi. He was the only son of Abd-ul-Ghani, the son of Shah Tali Allah, the most celebrated traditionist and the best student of divinity of his time. The latter had four sons; namely, the father of the subject of this biography, Maulavi Abd-ul-Azíz, Rafia-ud-dín, and Abd-ul-Kádir. They were all famous for their literary attainments and religious characters. The family traces its pedigree to Omar, the second khálif of Muhammad the Prophet.

Isma'il was born on Saturday, the 28th of Shawál, 1196 A.H. (or 1781 A.D.), in the village of Pholah, in the Delhi territory, from Fázilat-un-nissa, the daughter of Maulavi Ala-ud-dín, of the same place. On the death of his father, which occurred while he was very young, he was brought up as an adopted son under the care of his uncle Abd-ul-Kádir. Subsequently he was married to the grand-daughter of the latter individual.

Isma'il was possessed of good parts and high talents, and he had a very ingenious mind, and a retentive memory. As is the case generally in youth, he was not very attentive to his studies. Swimming in the river Jamná was one of his favourite amusements, and he was hence irregular in his attendance on his guardian and preceptor. From his natural talents, however, he was looked upon as "the hope of the family," and no pains were spared in his intellectual culture. He was so ingenious, that he generally opened his book at random, and began to read much in advance of his previous lesson. When he was told that it was not the place where he ought to have commenced, he would say that there was no difficulty that he could not fully comprehend in the part which he had omitted, although it might have been the most obscure part of the book; and, on being questioned on any point of it, he would give such a full and masterly explanation as would astonish the hearers. He finished his education in the fifteenth or sixteenth year of his age. The fame of his high abilities was soon spread far and wide. It is said that, to test his learning, some of the classical scholars would studiously meet him in the streets to prevent his having reference to books, and put him most difficult questions; but he would answer every point so explicitly

and satisfactorily that they always expressed their wonder and admiration at his mental faculties. Comparatively, he had an excellent knowledge of moral philosophy, mathematics, rhetoric, logic, as well as of the science of commentary (*tafsír*) and tradition, besides a respectable knowledge of the doctrines of the Muhammadan religion and law. His Treatise on Logic is universally admired, and so are his works in other sciences.

From the very commencement of his worldly career he was a true advocate of his religion, and was earnestly devoted to its cause. The abuses and innovations which had crept into its doctrines among the Moslems of India attracted his early attention. He found them deeply plunged in the vices of "Shirk," or "Association with God," or at least heresy; the Korán and Hadís having been almost entirely neglected, and the popular prejudices having been substituted as their chief guides. He commenced preaching, in the grand mosque at Delhi, sermons in favour of the unity of God and against idolatry; and he enlightened his countrymen on the respective nature of these doctrines by composing and publishing the following Treatise.

While thus engaged, his attention was aroused by the arrival of Saiyad Ahmad at Delhi from Tonk, in 1819. This individual had a tolerable knowledge of the Muhammadan law, and bore a high character as a pious man. He was the religious disciple of Maulavi Abd-ul-Azíz, and received his Arabic education from the late Abd-ul-Kádir. On his return, he found that the latter was dead, and had been succeeded in giving people literary instruction by his nephew, Maulavi Isma'íl, who was, however, very little attentive to the Darweshes. The fame of the Saiyad, who put up in the Akbar-ábádí mosque, was great, and drew numbers of people around him. Isma'íl, also, together with his relation, Abd-ul-Hai, the son-in-law of Abd-ul-Azíz, one day went to him purposely, when, for trial's sake, he observed, as is stated by the *Asár-us-sanádíd* (a book published a few years since at Delhi), that he had yet never been fortunate enough to offer his prayers with the *Huzúr-kalb*, or "the presence of heart." The Saiyad, with a smile, told him to come that night to his room to say the evening prayer, when he would acquire his desire. On hearing the remark, the inquisitive Maulavi grew very curious, and as soon as the fixed time arrived, he, along with his companion, went to the room of the Saiyad. They were told to offer the first portion of the prayer after him, and to complete the remainder separately, when they were both so deeply immersed in contemplating God, that it was not over till the dawn of the morn appeared. This miraculous exhibition of the Saiyad's supernatural power had such effect on the

mind of the young Maulavis, that the very same morning they most willingly received religious inauguration from his hands, and thereafter became his close followers.

This circumstance raised the fame of the sanctity of the Saiyad still higher, and in a short time he had numerous proselytes at Delhi. Shah Abd-ul-Azíz, who was then alive, advised his disciple and his two famous relatives to preach the sermon of pilgrimage, and to proceed to Mecca. They followed his advice. In 1820, when Isma'il was in the thirty-eighth year of his age, they, together with many others of their followers, proceeded to Calcutta, where the Saiyad had thousands of Mussulmans added to his proselytes. From hence they embarked for the temple of Mecca. After performing the rites of pilgrimage, and visiting the tomb of the Prophet at Medina, which is necessary to complete the ceremony, the party proceeded to Constantinople, where it was received with marked consideration. Here the Saiyad succeeded in adding largely to the number of his disciples, and acquired in presents (*nazrána*), as report says, nearly nine lakhs of rupees in cash. After travelling for nearly six years in Arabia and Turkey, the Hájjís returned to Delhi.

The distressed and degraded condition to which the people of India of late had been reduced, and which, when compared with the prosperous and happy state of the nations and tribes whom they had lately visited, seemed much more deplorable, excited the patriotic zeal of the Hájjís: the relief of their countrymen from their present miserable grievances was the object which wholly engrossed their attention. Moved by this laudable and sympathizing motive, they travelled throughout India, and went from town to town preaching the sermon of Jihád (religious war). Emissaries were likewise sent into the interior to prepare the minds of the Muhammadans for a religious war. Such was the powerful force of the orations of Maulavi Isma'il, that in less than two years the majority of respectable Muhammadans was in his favour. At Delhi he generally resorted to the Akbar-ábádí Masjid, where Saiyad Ahmad was lodged, and daily delivered religious lectures to those who came around him. He also preached in the grand mosque on every Friday and Tuesday. The assembly on these occasions was generally very great; so much so that one could hardly get near enough to hear him. In short, thousands of Mussulmans who, owing to the indolence of other Maulavis, had yet remained ignorant of the true doctrines of their religion, were reclaimed from the darkness of blasphemy in which they were plunged. His rapid success, however, excited the jealousy of the contemporary divines. Apprehending their own discredit with

the public, from the disclosure of the truth, they were of course offended at the incessant preachings of the indefatigable Isma'il. Rigid criticism and malicious censures were in consequence passed by the latter on his lectures. To remove differences of opinion, a meeting of the doctors was resolved upon, and held in the grand mosque, to discuss the points at issue; but the assembly broke up without coming to a decision regarding the controversy, each party pretending triumph. Whatever may be the merits of their respective pretensions, it is certain that Isma'il continued to gain unabated reputation as a popular and true expounder of the Mussulman law, and the people were convinced of the imposition under which they had hitherto laboured.

When his opponents failed to defeat him in public controversy, they often tried to mislead his followers privately by artful arguments, but the impression made upon his adherents was so great that they never went astray. Many came prepared with difficult questions, but in the very next preliminary discourse, Isma'il generally gave such convincing and comprehensive explanations of the matter in question, that they dared not put to him any query. Since that time, there have been two parties among the Muhammadans of India. The followers of the reformer are nicknamed "Wáhabís" by their opponents, while the others are called "Mushriks," or associators of others with God. The latter chiefly consists of the opposed Maulavis and Khádims, or attendants of the various tombs of the Muhammadan saints. The revenue of the latter entirely depended on the offerings presented by the ignorant visitors, and it was greatly checked by the religious instructions of Isma'il; and hence the Khádims had interested motives for disliking him. The common people who have not had the chance of hearing or reading the truths disclosed by this preacher, still continue to follow the old prejudices; but such of them as come to have a knowledge of the doctrines, still continue to embrace the reform unhesitatingly.

The opposition which Isma'il met on the part of the Maulavis, gave no check to his resolute mind, but, on the contrary, served to enhance still further his religious zeal. The number of his followers increased with his fame. The crowd of Namázís, or offerers of prayers, was as great in his time, in the grand mosque of Delhi, as on the festivals of the Íds; and, since that period, Muhammadanism in India has much prospered. The truths which have been disclosed by the industry of the reformer were never previously known, even to people of the first class.

His rising influence, however, alarmed the local authorities, and

his public assemblies are in consequence said to have been prohibited. He had, however, infused sufficient religious ardour into the minds of his partizans, to prepare them for the grand service which he had in contemplation. This check, however, prevented him from making any further progress in India, or from carrying into effect his favourite scheme at home, as is by some supposed to have been his original design.

In 1827-28, he, together with his religious guide Saiyad Ahmad, and his relative Abd-ul-Hai, proceeded to Pesháwur, *viâ* Jesalmír and Sindh. At the time they left Delhi, the religious enthusiasm was so great that the expedition haunted almost every mind. They were soon followed from India by small parties, who moved in disguise, making in all a considerable number. The "Asár us-sanádád" says: that more than a lakh of Indians alone flocked to his standard. They were also aided in pecuniary matters by the native chiefs and private individuals, more especially by the chief of Tonk, who is one of the disciples of the Saiyads. In the beginning of the next year, the Gházís (religious warriors) reached the Pesháwur frontier without check, and declared a religious war against the Sikhs, by raising the flag of Muhammad. Numbers of Afgháns also joined the standard, and among the rest, Omar Khán of Panjtor was of great service to the leaders. They succeeded in establishing their authority in the Yúsufzái mountains, without much difficulty. Yár Muhammad Khán, the chief of Pesháwur, who had till now remained on friendly terms, was alarmed at the rapid advancement of the Saiyad's party. He, in consequence, formed a confederacy with the Sikhs against the Gházís. In order to get rid of the reformer by peaceful means, he employed emissaries to destroy him by poison, but his wicked design having been disclosed to his intended victim, the exasperated Gházís furiously proceeded to attack Pesháwur, in 1829. An action followed, and Yár Muhammad being mortally wounded, his troops were easily dispersed. Pesháwur was, however, saved for a time, by the well-known General Ventura, who happened to be near the place; but on his departure the town was occupied, and the authority of the reformer established, by reading the khutba, and striking the coin in his name, as is the custom prevailing among the Muhammadans.

Owing to some innovations upon the old usages of the Afgháns, the authority of the Saiyad was however soon after overthrown in the Yúsufzái country, and the leaders were obliged to fly across the Indus, and to take shelter in the mountains of Pakhli and Dhamtor, where they fell in with a detachment of the Sikhs under the command of Sher Singh, in 1831. An action ensued, and Isma'il, along with his

religious guide, the Saiyad, was killed, and buried near Bálá Koh, in a part remote from his native place. For a long time, however, their death was doubted by their followers, but time has at last cleared the mist which hung over the facts.

Maulavi Isma'il was a man of very extensive literary attainments. He possessed a mild and manly temperament, and was simple and plain in his habits. He was an accomplished orator, and an excellent religious lawyer. His lectures were always delivered with great propriety, elegance, and force, and he expressed himself with considerable care and perspicuity. He avoided superfluities, and was generally to the purpose, brief and modest, and always produced such proofs as were best adapted to enforce conviction.

From the commencement, his attention was engaged by the religious irregularities which had crept into Muhammadanism, as well as the miseries of his fellow-creatures in India. He succeeded in a great measure in reforming the former, but lost his life, to the great regret of his countrymen, in attempting to alleviate the other.

During the present century, India has not produced another man similarly enterprising and able. In his admirable undertakings, he seemed to have no interested motives. His chief aim was to do good to the country which had given him birth. Ranjít Singh is said to have offered to him and the Saiyad a handsome Ja'gir, if they would give up their religious expedition. The request was contemptuously rejected, and the Lion of the Panjáb was told that if he would adopt their course they would ask nothing beyond it. The fame of Saiyad Ahmad was greatly owing to the exertions of this individual. He was scarcely known before he officiated with the Maulavi. It was chiefly through his preaching that several religious irregularities were exposed and reformed. The custom of paying illegal reverence to the tombs of saints, &c., and that of making ta'ziyas, have been much checked, though not abolished. The doctrines of the unity of God, and the Sunnas, are now better understood by the generality of the Mussulmans of India, than they were before his time. Many of the old mosques which had been neglected, have been restored to their former position, as sacred places of worship. In short, the name of Isma'il has been immortalized in India, and is more popular, and more sincerely respected, than that of any Muhammadan doctor of the modern age.

He took a most active part in the religious war against the Sikhs, but it is a pity he did not understand politics as well as he was accomplished in literary acquirements, otherwise it would not have been surprising if he had ultimately succeeded in effecting that grand

revolution which he had in contemplation. The memory of these reformers is still kept up in India, with the greatest veneration and esteem.

Maulavi Isma'il has left no issue from his wife at Delhi, but in 1839, I met a boy in Pesháwur, who pretended to be his son, by his second wife, with whom he is said to have been allied, during the religious warfare in which he was engaged in that quarter.

The zeal of Saiyad Ahmad, and the learning of Maulavi Isma'il, were thus devoted to giving practical effect, with some modifications, to the reforming tenets preached by Wáhab, in Africa. Accounts of the preachings and dogmas of this reformer had been brought to India by the numerous pilgrims returning from Mecca and Medina, but his doctrines made no great impression until they were enforced by the preachings and writings of these two zealots. Maulavi Isma'il proposed to lay down a perfect rule of conduct for the guidance of the Faithful, and to divide his work into two portions, as will be observed from his own preface to the following fragment. He lived to complete the first part alone, or that showing the extent to which the doctrines of Muhammad had become perverted in India; and this portion has now been translated. A disciple completed the scheme by the addition of the second part, treating of the modes proper to be followed; but it is a lengthy and inferior production, and the subject is moreover of less intrinsic interest than that exhibiting the reaction of Hinduism on the faith of a triumphant race. It has not, therefore, been thought necessary to translate his second part.¹

Both of the treatises were printed in Calcutta, in the Urdu dialect, some years ago.

TRANSLATION OF THE TAKWIYAT-UL-IMÁN.

PREFACE.

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.²

Unbounded thanks are due to Thee, Oh God, of holy nature, because Thou hast favoured us with thousands of religious blessings; hast shown us the true religion; directed us in the right way; taught

¹ This work, called the Sirát-ul-Mústakím, "The True Path," is the subject of a paper in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* for November, 1832, Vol. I. p. 479. The authorship is there attributed to Maulavi Isma'il. — Ed.

² This sentence is prefixed to every Persian or Arabic work in India, whether sacred or profane; but in Persia, and I believe in Khorasan, &c., it is placed at the commencement of holy writings only.

us the pure unity (Tauhíd); and hast created us among the followers of Thy favourite, Muhammad Rasul Allah, or messenger of God, (may peace and blessing be upon him!) and also for having inspired us with a desire to learn his way, and impressed our minds with affection for his vicegerents, who show us his way, and lead us in it.

We therefore supplicate Thee, our Omnipotent Lord, to convey our thousands of blessings and salutations to Thy favourite, as well as to his descendants, companions, and all deputies, and to bless his followers, and associate us with them, and keep us firm, dead or alive, in his path, and among his dependants alone—Amen; or, Accept this our prayer, O Lord of the worlds.

Hear ye! all men are servants of God. The duty of a servant is servitude. The one who will not perform his service, is no longer a servant. True service is to correct one's faith. Of him whose faith is unsettled, no services are acceptable, but of one whose faith is right, even little service is to be taken for much. Hence, every one ought to take much pains in the rectification of his faith, and must prefer its attainment to all other things.

In the present age, people follow many ways. Some uphold the customs of their ancestors, as precedents; others look to the stories of pious men (Buzúrg) for their guides; while again, some follow the sayings invented by the Maulavis, from the ingenuity of their own minds; and others allow their own judgment to interfere;—but the best of all ways is, to have for principles the words (holy writings) of God, and his apostle; to hold them alone as precedents, and not to allow our own opinion to be exercised. Such of the stories of the pious men, and the sayings of the Maulavis, as correspond with them, ought to be accepted, and the rest rejected.

It is a prevailing opinion among the common people, that it is difficult to comprehend the word of God and the apostle: much learning is required to divine them; we do not possess abilities enough to understand them; this course can be pursued by great pious men alone, and we are not able to do so; but, for us, the sayings of these men are enough. This is a great error, because God says, that the contents of the Koran are very clear and plain, and that there is no difficulty in understanding it, as stated in the Sûrah, (or portion) entitled "The Cow." "And, now, we have sent down unto thee evident signs, and none will disbelieve them but evil doers.¹" To

¹ This quotation is from Sale's Koran; but according to the original, the word "now" ought to be read "certainly." "Evil-doers" ought to be "disobedient."

understand these passages is not difficult, but to command one's spirit is rather difficult, because it dislikes submission. Hence, those only who are disobedient will disbelieve them. To comprehend the words of God and the apostle, much learning is not wanted, for the prophet was sent to show the right way to the unwise, to persuade the ignorant; and to instruct illiterate men, as God states in the portion entitled "Assembly" (Friday): "It is He who hath raised up, amidst the illiterate Arabians,¹ an apostle from among themselves, to rehearse his signs unto them, and to purify them, and to teach them the scriptures and wisdom; whereas, before, they were certainly in a manifest error." [Sale]. It is one of the greatest blessings of God, that He has sent down to us such an apostle as Muhammad, who has made the careless careful, purified the impure, has instructed the ignorant, and made the fools wise; as well as led those who had gone astray to the right path. If, after knowing the purport of the foregoing verse, any one should still maintain that no one can understand the sayings of the prophet but the learned, and that no one can follow his course but the pious, it will be virtually denying the said verse, and its value. Nay, it ought to be said that by hearing his word the illiterate become learned, and the misled pious. The following instance is well applicable here. Let us suppose there are a great physician and a sick man, and that the latter is advised by some one to apply to the former for cure, and he in reply should say; that to attend to the physician and to submit to his prescription were the task of a strong man only, and he himself was too sick to undergo the trouble. Such a person must certainly be a great fool to offer such an excuse, because the physician's duty is chiefly to attend to the sick. If he may prescribe for those alone who are of strong constitution, and the latter only can derive benefit from his medicine, and not the sick man, he is no longer a physician. Hence, he who is much in error ought to be very attentive in listening to the word of God and his apostle, and the sinful must take great pains to pursue the way set forth in that word. So it is the duty of every one to explore and comprehend them, and to correct his faith accordingly.

It is worthy of attention, that to make a good faith, two points are necessary, viz., to know that God is God, and the apostle is the apostle, respectively. To know God, then, is not to associate with Him any one else; and to recognise the apostle, is to follow his way alone. The first point is called the Unity (Tauhid), and its contradictory term "Shirk," or association (idolatry), while the other is named

¹ In the original the word Arabians is not inserted, but it may be understood.

"Sunnah," or the law of the Prophet, and its opposite term is heresy (Bid'at). Every man ought, therefore, to hold fast the two points, and to avoid Shirk and Bid'at, as the two latter abuse the faith. All other sins, in comparison, are less than these, as they corrupt the morals only. If you find a person who is a perfect observer of the unity of God, and the law of the Prophet, and is far removed from idolatry and heresy, and others derive benefit by his company, you ought to take him for your religious guide (pír) and instructor. I have, therefore, compiled in this treatise a few verses, as well as a few sayings or "Hadís," corroboratory of the unity and the law, and condemnatory of idolatry and heresy, adding their translation and true meaning in simple and easy Urdu, so that every one may derive an equal advantage by reading them, and that those whom God favoureth may thereby adopt the right way, and hence be the cause of forgiveness to the explainer.

This book is entitled "Takwiyat-ul-Imán," or Support of the Faith. It contains two chapters; the first regarding the unity and idolatry, and the second the law of the Prophet, and heresy.

CHAPTER I.

On Tauhíd, or the unity of God; and Shirk, or idolatry.

First, it must be known that Shirk is very prevalent among mankind, while the Tauhíd is scarcely known; but the greater number do not understand the meaning of these terms. They pretend to be faithful, yet they are much involved in Shirk. To comprehend the meaning, therefore, of these words, it is of primary importance that a distinction be made between good and bad, according to the Koran and Hadís. It is customary for many, in the time of difficulty, to call for aid on the pírs (religious guides), apostles, imáms, martyrs, angels, and fairies, and beg them to comply with their wishes; and to propitiate them, vows and offerings are made in their names. Moreover, children are named after them; for instance, Abd-un-nabi (servant of the apostle), Ali Bakhsh (granted by Ali); as well as Hassan Bakhsh, Husain Bakhsh, Mádár Bakhsh, Salar Bakhsh, and also Gholam Mohi-ud-dín. Further, many perform other similar rites for their respective saints, &c.: one keeps a chotí, or lock of hair, on his head; others wear badhás, or woven thread round their necks, and clothes after a certain manner, while some put chains on their legs, and offer sacrifices, and others again invoke the saints in the time of need, and take oaths in their names. In short, what the Hindus do

towards their idols, the Mussulmans do for them, and yet they call themselves Muhammadans!

God be praised! Are these the mouths fit to advance such claims? No. What God says, in the portion of "Joseph," is very true.—"And the greater part of them believe not in God, without being also guilty of idolatry." (Sale.) If any of their well-wishers should tell them that, although they pretend to be true believers, yet they are guilty of Shirk, and if asked why they are mixing up two different ways, they answer, "We are not guilty of idolatry, but hereby only profess our veneration for the apostles and saints. If we esteemed them as on an equal footing with God, then we might stand accused, but we do not do so. Verily, we consider them the servants, as well as the creatures of God; the spiritual power which they enjoy has been granted by Him alone, and they exercise it at His pleasure; to invoke them is verily invoking God, and calling upon them for aid is virtually calling upon God; they, being His favourites, may do whatever they like; they are our intercessors and mediators with God, and, by gaining their favour, we gain the favour of the Most High, and get access to His throne; and the more we worship them, the nearer we are to Him." In a word, they speak other similar absurdities, because they do not follow the holy writings, but exercise their own judgments, believe false stories, and take improper customs for their examples. If they had a knowledge of the holy writings, they might know that the unbelievers also used similar arguments with the Prophet; but God accepted none of them, and directed his indignation against them, and confirmed their falsehood, as He sayeth in the portion called "Jonas:" "And they worship, besides God, that which can neither hurt them, nor profit them; and they say: these are our intercessors with God. Answer, will ye tell God that which He knoweth not, neither in heaven, nor in earth? Praise be unto Him! and far be that from Him which they associate with Him." The meaning is, that those whom they invoke have no power from God, either to hurt or profit them. As to what they say, that they are their intercessors with God, it is not correct, because God hath not said so. What! are you more knowing than God, that you tell Him what He knoweth not? From the foregoing verse, it is evident that there is none, either in heaven or in earth, who can be mediator with God, or by invoking whom any profit or hurt can be produced. Nay, the apostles and saints can only intercede with God, by His permission. So there is no advantage in invoking them. Verily, he who worships any one, even as his intercessor, becomes guilty of Shirk, by such an act. God saith, in the portion named "The Troops:" "But as to these, who take other patrons

besides Him, saying, we worship them only that they may bring us nearer unto God; verily, God will judge between them, concerning that wherein they disagree. Surely God will not direct him who is a liar, or ungrateful." Hence, forgetting that God is nearer to his servants than any one else, they have taken other mediators; and instead of duly appreciating, and gratefully thanking Him for His great favour in that He attends to our desires, without any mediation, and averts directly evils which beset us, they supplicate the same from others. And although, by persisting in this wrong path, they seek to be nearer unto God, they shall never obtain their desires, and will never get nearer to Him. Nay, the more they persist in this course, the more distant they will be from God. It is manifest that he who takes any one else for his patron, even saying that he does so to obtain proximity to God, is surely guilty of Shirk, and is also a liar, and ungrateful to his Maker. It is stated in the *Súrah* entitled "The True Believers," that "Say in whose hand is the kingdom of all things, who protecteth whom he pleaseth, but is himself protected of none; if ye know? They will answer; in God's. Say, how, therefore, are you bewitched." Even when it be asked from infidels as to who is the ruler of the world, an equal of whom could not be set up; they will surely say, God. To acknowledge the authority of others, therefore, will be nothing short of downright madness. From the foregoing verse, it is evident that God has given no control to any of His servants in the affairs of the world. No one else can therefore protect any person. It is also manifest that the unbelievers of the time of the Prophet, even, did not consider their idols equal to God. Nay, they ever recognised them as the servants and creatures of God, and never declared that they enjoyed equal power with Him. But still, their invoking them, making vows and offerings in their names, and considering them their intercessors with God, was nothing less than infidelity and Shirk. Hence, he who acts in this way towards any being, though he may consider him as the servant of God, will be equally guilty of Shirk with Abú-Jáhil, or father of ignorance; because the term Shirk does not only signify to set up equals with God, but it also embraces the performance of rites of devotion to others, and the ascription to them of certain attributes which belong to God alone, such as omnipresence, and the power of controlling the universe, prostration, vows, sacrifice, and invocation in the time of need. Those who ascribe any of these attributes, or perform any of these rites to any of God's creatures, though regarding them as below the Almighty, and considering them His servants, will be verily guilty of Shirk. In this respect, there is no difference between the

apostles, saints, genii, devils, fairies, &c., *i.e.*, none of them deserve these distinctions; for God hath pronounced his indignation against Christians and Jews, equally with idolaters, because the former were charged with similar practices towards their apostles, &c., as is stated in the Súrah named "The Declaration of Immunity." "They take their priests and their monks for their Lords, besides God, and Christ the son of Mary, although they are commanded to worship one God only: there is no God but He; far be that from Him which they associate with Him." In fact, they take God for a greater Lord, and, hence, they are guilty of Shirk. But God is alone, and no companion, either small or equal, can be associated with Him. Nay, great and small are all His humble servants, and are on an equal footing in point of humility; the truth of which is verified in the Súrah, "Mary."—"Verily, there is none in heaven, or on earth, but shall approach the Merciful as His servant. He encompasseth them by his knowledge and power, and numbereth them with an exact computation, and they shall all come unto Him on the day of resurrection, destitute both of helpers and followers." The inference to be drawn from this passage is, that both angels and men are equally His servants, being entirely at His mercy, and having no power whatever of their own. But God alone commands all, one by one, and has not delegated that power to others. Every one shall be judged before Him, by himself, and no one can intercede for, or protect him.

There are many other verses, of similar purport with the foregoing, in the Koran, but he who comprehends these, even, will become aware of what is Unity and Shirk. Now, it is necessary to learn what things are peculiar to God, and in which no one else ought to be associated. They are several, but a few for illustration follow, and the rest should be inferred from them. The first point is, that the attributes of omnipresence and omniscience, far or near, concealed or manifest, in darkness or light, in heaven or on earth, on the peaks of mountains or at the bottom of seas, are peculiar to God alone. No one else is vested with this power. Should any one take the name of any saint, either at sitting down or standing up, or invoke or call upon him in the time of need, instead of God, or use his name in attacking an enemy, or read passages to propitiate him (*Khatam*), or contract a habit of studying his name (*Shaghl*), or have his image fixed as the object of contemplation, or consider that by using his name, either with the lips or in the mind, or by fixing the attention on his supposed image or grave, the devotee becomes sensible, and that none of his secrets can remain concealed from him, or that whatever occurs to the devotee in life, such as health or sickness,

prosperity or poverty, death or life, sorrow or happiness, all come to his knowledge, or whatever he utters, he hears, and that every idea which crosses his mind he knows. By such conduct, one becomes guilty of Shirk, and surely it can be called nothing else. Such acts, however, are called by them "Ishrak fi'l Ilm," or Association in Knowledge, i.e., associating one in the knowledge of God. From having such belief, one is verily a transgressor, and is guilty of Shirk, though he may have such notions about the apostles and saints, pirs and martyrs, imáms, and their posterity, and devils and fairies, considering even this power either created by themselves, or granted by God. In short, by having such belief, the guilt of Shirk is completely proved.

The second point is Omnipotence. To have a thorough control over the universe, to exercise full authority in it, to cause death or life, to extend or depress one's means, to occasion sickness or health, to bestow victory or defeat, to effect prosperity or adversity, as well as to accomplish desires, to avert evils, to protect in the time of difficulty, and to alleviate miseries, are all the qualities peculiar to God alone; and no other is endowed with such powers. If any one, by action or desire, attribute such influence to any of his creatures in the foregoing points, he is surely an associator of companions with God. It is called "Ishrak fi't tasurruf" or Association in the power of God. The transgressor will certainly be guilty, whether he consider the apostles, &c. to have been favoured with such command by God, or think that such power has been created by themselves.

The third point defines the matters connected with veneration and respect, which ought to be observed for the glory of the Most High, exclusively. This is called "Ibádat," or Worship, and the observance of the following rites is prohibited for any other being than God. Prostration, bowing down, standing with folded arms, spending money in the name of an individual, fasting out of respect to his memory, proceeding to a distant shrine in the peculiar dress of a pilgrim, and calling aloud his name while going along, or doing other absurdities. Also, to avoid slaying cattle purposely while on pilgrimage, to go round the shrine, to make prostration before it, to carry animals for sacrifice, to make vows, to cover the grave with a sheet (Ghiláf), to utter prayers while standing at its threshold, or to beg the accomplishment of other wishes concerning this and the world to come, to kiss any particular stone, to rub the mouth and breast against the walls of the shrine, and to cause an illumination around it, becoming one of the attendants (Mujáwir), cleansing the temple, or preparing things for the ablution of its visitors, considering the water of the

place sacred, sprinkling it as such over the body, and carrying it for absent friends, as well as on leaving the shrine to walk backwards, with the face towards it, and hold the jungle around in respect, refraining from slaying any animals found therein, or from cutting trees or grass situated there. God hath ordained all these ceremonies of worship to be performed by His servants for Himself alone. Should any one in any way observe these or other similar honours towards apostles, &c., he shall certainly be guilty of associating them with God. This sort of proceeding is called "Ishrak fi'l Ibádat," or Association in Worship, *i.e.*, worshipping others in the manner which is ordained for God alone. Even when the devotee thinks that he does so to propitiate God himself, or considers the person worshipped as deserving it, he is guilty of Shirk.

The fourth point relates to glorifying God's name, in worldly doings. God has taught us to keep a respectful recollection of Him, in our actions, so that thereby we may preserve our faith, and that our proceedings may be attended with prosperity. For instance, to make a vow in His name for the success of a certain object, to invoke Him in the time of distress, to commence every business with His Holy name, to sacrifice animals to Him on being favoured with children, to name them after Him, as Abdullah (servant of God), Abd-ur-rahman, Khoda Bakhsh, Allahdin, &c., to deduct a portion of the produce of cultivation and property as an offering to God, to respect the cattle which are kept apart or are being conveyed to His temple, not to mount or load them, to follow his orders in eatables and drinkables, by using only such things as have been allowed, and abstaining from those which have been prohibited, and to consider all good and evil which visit this world as proceeding from Him alone, as also to use His name in speaking of your intentions and purposes, such as when you say you intend to do a thing, say that, please God, you will do so. Moreover, His name should be used respectfully, as a servant ought towards his master, saying, Ruler or Lord, Málik or Master, Khálik or Creator. Oaths, when necessary, must also be taken in His name only. All such honours are prescribed for the glory of God alone. To use them, therefore, towards apostles, saints, deputies, martyrs, devils, and fairies, &c., is inadmissible. To invoke them in the time of difficulty, and instead of "Bismillah" (in the name of God), to use their names, or on the birth of children to make offerings to them, or even to name the child after them, as Abd-un-nabi (servant of the apostle), Imám Bakhsh, or Pír Bakhsh; to set apart a portion of the products of cultivation for them before the rest can be used; to respect animals preserved for them, by not driving them away, though

they may be doing damage; to follow precedent, as, for instance, to say that such and such a dish or cloth should not be used, or to say that the dish prepared in memory of "Hazrat Bībī," (Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet,) ought not to be partaken of by a man, a slave-girl, or such women as have been remarried, or that the Táshá, or dish offered to Shah Abd-ul-Hakk, ought not to be eaten by the Hukka smokers; to consider good or evil as proceeding from them, as, for instance, to say that such a person being cursed by such a saint, &c., has turned insane, or that such a fellow has been reduced to poverty on account of the anger of such a person, or *vice versa*, or that famine has been brought on by the evil effects of such a star, or that such an object was not accomplished through having been commenced at an inauspicious time; to use the name of God and the apostle in beginning a work, as to say, that if God and the apostle approve, it shall be done, or, if they wish, he will come; or in using the names of the saints, &c., to prefix such words as "Malrud-data," (O worshipful Providence!) Beparwá, Khudaikan (O great contented Lord!) Málik-ul-mulk (O Master of the kingdoms!) &c., and to swear, when an oath be necessary, by the name of the Prophet, or of Ali, or of the Imáms, or Pírs, or by their tombs. By doing such honours, the perpetrator is certainly guilty of Shirk, which is called Ishrak-fíl-adab, or the Habit of Association, that is, the habit of respecting others in the same way as one ought to respect God alone. There are manifest orders in the Koran and Hadís, prohibiting such practices.

CHAPTER II.

This chapter is divided into five sections (Fasals), viz. —The first treats of the mischief of Shirk, and the excellence of Unity in general; the second, of association in knowledge; the third, of association in the power of God; the fourth, of association in worship; and the fifth, of the habit of association, &c.

SECTION I.—*Association and Unity.*

This section treats of the doctrine of the unity of God, and the sin of associating companions with Him. The latter is one of the highest and most unpardonable crimes. God says, in the Súrah entitled "Women:"—"Surely God will not pardon the giving Him an equal; but will pardon any other sin except that, to whom He pleaseth; and whoso giveth a companion unto God, hath devised a great unkindness." It will be also wandering from the right way, not to make a distinc-

tion between forbidden and unforbidden things,—to commit theft or adultery,—to give up ordained prayers and fasts,—to usurp the rights of orphans,—and to shew disrespect to parents. But one who has plunged into Shirk, has gone much astray, because he is involved in a crime which God will never forgive, while He may perhaps pardon other sins. The former shall inevitably meet the punishment which has already been fixed for it. If the nature of this transgression is of the first order, by doing which the perpetrator becomes an infidel, then the eternal abode in hell shall be the award; from this he will never escape, nor will he ever enjoy any kind of relief. If the sin be of a secondary nature, in that case even the sinner will not escape suitable punishment; other minor sins will be pardoned, after they are duly chastised, at the pleasure of God, it being at the same time optional with Him to inflict the appointed punishment or not. Hence it is to be inferred that Shirk is the greatest of all crimes.

The following instance is well illustrative of the fact. Suppose a servant or subject of a king to be guilty of theft, or of sleeping on watch, or of irregularity in attending the Darbár, or of running away from the field of battle, or of failure in the payment of government dues, or of similar other crimes; he is certainly accusable before his sovereign, but it is optional with the latter either to forgive or to chastise him. But there are some crimes of a rebellious or treasonable nature: as, for instance, to address an Amír or Vizír, or Chaudrí, or Kánúngo, or a sweeper, or a Chamár, with such titles as are peculiar to the king,—to prepare a crown or throne for him,—to call him the Vicegerent of God (Zill-i-Subhání),—to bow to him in such a manner as is observed towards his majesty only, or to fix a day of Jashn (great rejoicing), and offer him nazars; these are heinous crimes, and the king must punish the perpetrator: if he neglects to do so, he is not a wise monarch, and such kings are called shameless by the wise men. Hence, we ought to be much more fearful of the Lord of Kingdoms, the Most High-minded Monarch. How shall He then neglect to punish those who are guilty of associating companions with Him? O God, be merciful to the true believers, and save them from the perpetration of such an atrocious crime! In the Súrâh of “Lukmán,” God says: “And remember when Lukmán said unto his son, as he admonished him: O my son, give not a partner unto God, for polytheism is a great impiety;” that is, God favoured Lukmán with wisdom; and his opinion also was, that there was nothing more unjust than to give over the right of one to another. Verily, he who gives away God’s right to his creature, is guilty of giving away what belongs to the Most High, to the lowest person,—as putting the crown of a king

on the head of a Chamár (the lowest caste). What greater injustice can there be than such a proceeding? It is certain that every creature, small or great, is lower than a Chamár, in comparison to the glory of God. With reference to the foregoing verse, it is evident that as Shirk is put down as one of the most atrocious sins by the Law, so it is condemned by wisdom as one of the greatest faults. And it is but very right; because the greatest defect is to be disrespectful to the elders, and no one is greater than God; to disrespect Him, therefore, is actually to associate equals with Him. As God reveals, in the Súrah of "Prophets:" "We have sent no apostle before thee, but we revealed unto him that there is no God besides myself: wherefore, serve me."

All the prophets who have come on missions on the part of God, have professed the same doctrine—to serve the Lord, and worship none besides Him. It is inferred from hence that the guilt of Shirk, or association with God, is condemned, while the dogma of the unity is enforced by every law or Shara. The latter is the only way which leads to salvation, and all the rest are wrong.

It is stated by Ma'áz-ibn-Jabal that the Prophet (may peace and salutation be on him!) has said, "Do not associate any one with God, although you may be killed or burnt; but serve Him alone; and do not fear that by doing so, you may be hurt by the genii or devils." It is also related in the Mishkah, that Abú Huraira heard the Prophet of God saying, that God said: "He is self-sufficient, and abandons him who associates companions with Him, and He subjects the associates to His displeasure;" that is, as people have partners among themselves, in distributing particular things, they must not have the same idea towards Almighty God, who is alone self-sufficient. Nay, if in doing an act for God, they associate with Him others, He will not only reject what is offered to His own majesty, but shall give up every thing therein concerned, and shall be displeased with the actor. Hence, it is manifest that he who acts in the same manner towards others, as he does unto God, is verily guilty of Shirk, and none of his services shall be acceptable to God; yea, he will be subjected to His displeasure.

Ibn-Kah, in commenting on the verse: "And when the Lord drew forth their posterity from the loins of the sons of Adam, &c.," states, that God having assembled the posterity of Adam (in spirits), classified them in various classes, shaped them in different forms, and endowed them with the power of speech, they began to speak, and they were then made to enter into a covenant with the Lord, and to testify this. God said, "Am not I your Lord?" they answered, "Yea." Again God said, "Remember, the seven heavens,

and the seven earths, as well as your father Adam, are witnesses hereof, so that on the day of resurrection you may not say that you were ignorant of it. Verily, We are the Omnipotent, and there is no ruler of the kingdoms besides the Lord, so do not associate any thing with Him. We will send unto you apostles, that they may remind you of your engagement, and through them we will send, for you, books." They answered, "Surely Thou art our only Master and Lord, and we have no one else for our ruler and master." [The verse above alluded to is as follows: "And when thy Lord drew forth their posterity from the loins of the sons of Adam, and took them to witness against themselves,¹ saying, Am I not your Lord? they answered, Yea; we do bear witness. This was done lest ye should, at the day of resurrection, say, Verily, we were negligent as to this matter, because we were not apprised thereof; or lest ye should say, "Verily, our fathers were formerly guilty of idolatry, and we are their posterity who have succeeded them: wilt Thou therefore destroy us for that which vain men have committed?"—Súrah "Aráf."]

Ibn-kah further comments, that when the posterity of Adam were brought together, God formed the prophets and saints into one class, and the martyrs into another. The pious men, also, were separated into one, and wicked men into another. One class was formed of the obedient servants, while the unbelievers, viz., the Jews, the Christians, the Magi, the Hindus, &c., were likewise divided into several parties. Next, they were shaped into forms, that is, the shape in which he was to appear in the world, was predestined for each one. Some were made handsome, others ugly, while some were gifted with sight, and others were destined to be blind, either of one or both eyes. Next, they were endowed with the faculty of speech, and then they were asked to answer: "Am not I thy Lord?" to which they unanimously replied, "Yes." Again, God made them give a covenant that they would acknowledge no other as their Lord and master. God then called upon the heavens and earth to bear witness thereof, and told them, at the same time, that He would send unto them prophets, and books, to remind them of their agreement. In short, each person individually acknowledged the unity, and denied polytheism (Shirk).

In the latter point, we should even hold the examples set up, either by a Pir, or teacher, or father, or king, or Maulavi, or pious man, as precedents. If one say that he does not recollect [since his appearance in the world] the agreement which was made

¹ The words "on souls" have been omitted.

with God, and he will not therefore observe a promise of which he is not aware, it is a great error; because there are many things of which men become acquainted, only by hearing of them from others. As an instance, one does not know the circumstance of his mother having given him birth, but hears of it from others, and believes it accordingly. Hence, he knows his mother, and cannot adopt another woman as such in her place. Notwithstanding all this, should he not pay a due respect to his mother, he will be accused of wickedness. If he, in reply, urge that he does not recollect the circumstance of his having been born of her, and will not therefore consider her as his mother, he will be deemed an idiot, and very disrespectful, by all mankind. Since men believe many things merely by hearing of them from the common people, how much more should they believe of what they are apprised by the prophets. It is manifest from the foregoing, that the doctrines of the true unity, and the depravity of polytheism, were inculcated to the whole of mankind, in the world of spirits, and since, prophets and sacred books have been sent unto them, from time to time, to remind them of their covenant. Hitherto, God has sent into the world 124,000 prophets, and 104 books, treating chiefly of the doctrine in question. We ought, therefore, to try to learn the pure unity, and to keep far off from polytheism. We must neither consider others besides God as partners in His power, nor take any one for our Master, in the hope that he will grant our desires, or will attend to our supplications. The prophet of God said to Ma'áz-ibn-Jabal, among other precepts, "Do not associate any thing with God, although they kill or burn you." Hence, do not believe any one else as God but God, and do not entertain any apprehension that by doing so you will be hurt by the genii or devils. People generally put up patiently with the affliction which they experience, in the world, and in the same manner they must not yield to the injuries they may receive from the genii, nor through fear acknowledge their power. Verily, every thing is in the power of God alone; and sometimes, to try the faith of His servants, he causes the good to be hurt by a wicked man, so that he may make a distinction between firm and infirm men, and separate the unbelievers from the faithful. Hence, by the voluntary will of the Almighty, the pious are injured by wicked men, and a Muslim by a Káfir, when they are obliged to put up with the affliction, but do not allow their faith to be abused in consequence. In like manner, God causes good men to be hurt by the hands of the genii and Satan. They ought to submit to such grievances with patience, and not to recognise their authority through fear. If any one abandon polytheism, and know that offerings to

gods are forbidden, and give up following wrong customs, although he may suffer a loss in property, children, or his own life, or may receive wrongs from Satan, &c., under the disguise of a Pír, or martyr, he ought to undergo these grievances patiently, and must persist in the course he has adopted, placing his entire dependence in God, who, as He in proper time punishes tyrants and relieves the oppressed from their tyranny, in the same manner he will chastise the oppressive genii, and thereby relieve good men from their injuries.

Ibn Masúd says, a man asked the prophet: "O messenger of God, which is the greatest of all crimes before God?" To which was answered, "That you call any other like unto God who created you;"¹ i.e., as in times of distress, they invoke God who is omniscient and omnipresent, and has every thing in his power, they must not in the same manner call upon others, which is the greatest of all crimes. It is a great error to consider that any one else has the power of realizing others' wishes, and being present at every place, and seeing every action: since God alone is our Creator, and we were formed solely by His own intention, it is obligatory on us also to call upon Him in the time of difficulty. What business, then, have we with others? When a person becomes the slave of a king, his sole dependence is on his own master, and not on another king: much less on a Chamár, or a sweeper.

Anas heard the Prophet observe: "God said, O children of Adam! verily, if you come before me with faults, equal to the full of the earth, and then come before me without associating any thing with me, verily I will come before you with the earth full of pardon; and will pardon any quantity of sins you may have committed."¹ The meaning is, that there are in the world numbers of sinners; and Pharaohs, and Hamans, as well as Satan (who still exists), are of the number. Now, if one alone commit faults equal to all of them, but be free from Shirk, yet he shall be pardoned through the blessings of the doctrine of Unity; while all the good actions of a polytheist will turn to no good. Verily, when one is perfectly purified of the evils of polytheism, i.e., when he is fully convinced that there is no Lord but God,—that there is no place of refuge beyond His protection,—that the sinner can find shelter nowhere, and that there is no equal with God in power,—then, whatever transgressions he may be guilty of, may be ascribed to the frailty of human nature, or to error. But, at the same time, he ought to be awfully respectful, and be so repentant of his sins that he may feel tired of life; he shall then be

¹ Mishkah.

much visited with God's blessings, which shall not be less than his sorrow. In fact, he who is a perfect Unitarian, his sins even will be more effective than the worship of others. A sinful Unitarian is a hundredfold better than a pious Polytheist; and a guilty repentor is likewise better than a rebellious sycophant, because the one repents for his sins, while the other is proud of his hypocrisy.

SECTION II.

Of Association in knowledge with God.

This section treats of such verses of the Korán, and sayings of the Prophet, which prove the sinfulness of the association of others with the knowledge of God.

In the Súrah of "Cattle," God says: "With Him are the keys of the secret things: none knoweth them besides Himself." But He has gifted his servants with the sense to perceive visible things. He has given them eyes to see, ears to hear, noses to smell, tongues to taste, wisdom to understand, and hands to use. They are empowered to exercise these senses at pleasure: if one wishes to see a thing, he has only to open his eyes, and he will see it; and if not inclined to see, he has but to shut them; or if he wishes to taste a thing, he has only to put it in his mouth, and he will know the taste thereof. In short, they have been provided with keys to know such conspicuous things. Verily, a man who has the key can open the lock at his discretion. Hence, the people have power to ascertain visible things, but they are not able to discern the latent mysteries. They are known to God alone; and the prophets, angels, pirs, martyrs, imáms, devils, or fairies, are not endowed with power to discover the concealed things that God has been pleased to hide from them; but He occasionally discloses any such thing to any one of His servants, in a twinkling; yet this is done with His free will, and not at their supplication, as we are led to believe. It has often happened that the Prophet himself several times desired to know things, the truth of which he could not discover until voluntarily apprised of them by God. The following instance is an illustration of this fact. Once, the chastity of 'Aisha, the wife of the Prophet, was falsely accused by the unbelievers. He was much afflicted in consequence, and, notwithstanding his strict inquiries into the matter for several successive days, he could not arrive at the truth. He therefore felt very sorry and thoughtful on the occasion, but his embarrassment was removed by God, who informed him that the unbelievers were liars, and that

'Aisha was unpolluted. It ought, consequently, to be believed that the keys of mysteries are at the command of God alone. They have not been entrusted to any other, neither has He a treasurer ; but with His own hand opens the lock of His secret treasures, and gives as much as he likes to whomsoever he pleases ; and no one can stop Him from so doing. Hence, it is manifest, should any one pretend that he possesses a science whereby he can know hidden and future things, he is a liar, because he advances pretension to the knowledge possessed by God alone. To believe, therefore, that the prophets, genii, angels, &c., as well as astronomers, fortune-tellers, &c. are vested with such power, is Shirk ; and the transgressor will, by such belief, have rejected the foregoing verse of the Korán. If it be surmised that sometimes the prediction of a soothsayer, &c. actually came to pass, and that hence he must have had some knowledge of it, it is a manifest error, because many of their soothsayings are never verified ; and it is therefore apparent that they are not possessed of such divine knowledge, but foretell by certain calculations, which are generally wrong. Similar is the nature of the "Istikhára," (asking advice by beads,) and "Kashf," or inspiration, and of taking omens from the Korán. Perhaps some one may say, "Is the merit of the prophets' inspiration then of the same nature?" He ought to be told that no wrong notion ever enters their minds. God reveals to them whatever He likes, but their wishes have no interference in the matter : the truth of which is elicited in the Súrah "Ant:" "Say none, either in heaven or earth, knoweth that which is hidden, besides God ; neither do they understand when they shall be raised ;" that is, God desired the Prophet to tell the people, that no one, besides God, neither angels, nor mankind, nor genii, know concealed things, nor have they the power to do so. Every one is aware that once the day of resurrection will come, but no one can tell when that will be : if they could, they would certainly have ascertained this important point. As a further proof, the following verse of the Korán, in the Súrah "Lukmán," is sufficiently corroborative of this remark : "Verily, the knowledge of the hour of judgment is with God, and He causeth the rain to descend at His own appointed time, and He knoweth what is in the wombs of females. No soul knoweth what it shall gain¹ on the morrow, neither doth any soul know in what land it shall die ; but God alone is knowing, and fully acquainted with all things ;" that is, God alone is aware of secret things, and no one else can know them. For instance, the fact as to the occurrence of the last day is notoriously

¹ For "gain" read "do."

known, yet no one can say at what time it will happen. Such being the case, then, how can people discover other things, such as victory, defeat, sickness, or recovery,—points which are much less certain than the day of judgment. Similar is the nature of the forebodings regarding the descent of rains, although they are periodical, and are always desirable, to all the prophets, saints and kings, as well as to the sages. If, then, there had been any clue to ascertain the time of their actual fall, they would surely have contrived some method or other for their own satisfaction.

The predictions, therefore, regarding the less notorious and personal things about which all mankind are not concerned, such as the death or life of one; the offspring of another; the prosperity or poverty of a third; the victory or defeat of a fourth; must necessarily be much less trustworthy. In the same manner, no one can tell what is in the womb of a female, as to whether it contains one or more little ones, male or female, perfect or imperfect, a handsome or an ugly child. Although the physicians have fixed some particular signs regarding these things, yet no one can make any remark on the subject with certainty. How can the people, then, be correct in their calculations about theoretical and new things, or as regards the faith or infidelity. True, when one cannot know what he will do on the morrow, how can he then know of the state of affairs of others? In the same way, when one does not know as to where he will die himself, how can he tell with correctness the place of the death of other people? In short, no one beside God himself knows of future things. It is clear, then, that all those who pretend to have a knowledge of hidden things, such as fortune-tellers, soothsayers, and interpreters of omens, as well those who profess to be inspired, and to understand the almanac (Takwīm), are all liars, and people ought to be cautious not to be deceived by them. It is also likely for a man to say that he has no power to know such things, nor is he able to do so, but that he only knows as much as is discovered to him by God, and can know no further at his pleasure. Such an individual, possibly, may or may not be in earnest. God says, in the Sūrah "Alkáf:" "Who is in a wider error than he who invoketh, besides God, that which cannot return him an answer, to the day of resurrection; and idols, which regard not their calling on them." Verily, the polytheists are great fools to abandon God, who is omniscient, and call upon those who cannot assist them. There are some men who call on righteous men to intercede in their behalf with God, to realize their wishes; and yet they think that they are not guilty of Shirk, because they only supplicated them to pray in their favour to God, but did

not ask them to grant their request themselves directly. It is an error; because, though by such a proceeding one does not become a perpetrator of Shirk, yet the manner in which they invoke them is not short of that heinous crime; for, by such calling, it is tacitly understood that the person invoked has the power of hearing them from far or near; whereas, in the following verse in the Súrah "Aráf," God says, that all others, beside Himself, are insensible of the calling of those who invoke them. God said to the Prophet: "Say, I am neither able to procure advantage unto myself, nor to avert mischief from me, but as God pleaseth. If I knew the secrets of God, I should surely enjoy abundance of good, neither should evil befall me. Verily, I am no other than a denouncer of threats; and a messenger of good tidings unto people who believe." Our Prophet was the head of all prophets, and wrought several great miracles, and disclosed many hidden secrets, and several of his followers became righteous merely by following his way; yet God told him even to make a clear confession of his own inability, that the people might know the truth. He therefore told them: "I have neither power nor knowledge of the secrets of God; so much so, that I can neither derive any benefit for myself, nor can avert any evil from me; what, then, can I do for others? With respect to the knowledge of the mysteries, if I had possessed that power, I could have made arrangements for everything beforehand, *i.e.*, if I could have expected any good to result from any particular action, I would have done it, otherwise I would have avoided it. In short, I have no knowledge whatever of God's secrets, nor do I advance any pretensions to it. I have only come on a mission from God, and my duty is to enunciate threats, and inform people of good tidings; but this much will only have effect on those who believe truly, and to enforce it on their attention is not my business: God alone can do that."

From this verse, it is evident that God has made the prophets the best of all mankind. They have been commissioned to explain the orders of God, and to warn the people of good and bad deeds, and to preach them generally. God has also made their speech effective, whereby numbers of men have adopted the straight road. But, hereby, it ought not to be understood that they are endowed with power to do whatever they like, so that they may kill whomsoever they please, or grant offspring to others. They cannot likewise extract them from difficulties, or accomplish their desires, or bestow on them victory or defeat, or make them rich or poor, king or wazir, or wrest away kingdom or principality, or restore the sick to health, or convert health to sickness, or impress faith on their mind, or remove it

therefrom. In these matters, all servants of God are equally powerless. Neither is it thereby to be understood that the prophets are endowed with knowledge of any secret things. It is not in their power to divine any mystery they like, nor can they know respecting any absent person whether he is alive or dead, or in what town he is, or what he is doing. They cannot either dive into futurity, so as to predict that such a person will have children or not, or that a certain trade will be attended with profit or loss, or that such a one shall gain victory or be defeated. On these points, also, all creatures of God are equally unacquainted and ignorant. As some of the wise people sometimes draw conclusions of coming events from appearances, some of which turn out correct and some wrong, in the same way the prophets foretell from their own wisdom of some future things. Their forebodings, however, meet with a similar fate, i.e., sometimes prove right, and at others not; but there is no mistake in their communications when they are inspired or informed of a thing by God himself: but this power is not at their command.

It is said of the Prophet in the Mishkah: Rebecca said, "The Prophet came to my house, when they were about sending me to my husband's, and his highness sat down upon my bed, just as you are sitting upon it, and the women began to beat the drum for my going away, and making lamentation on account of my forefathers, who had been killed in the battle of Bedr; and all of a sudden one of the women said in her ditty: 'We have got a prophet amongst us; who knows what will happen to-morrow.' Then the Prophet said to her: 'Let this alone, and repeat what you were repeating before.'" The purport is, that Rebecca was a lady of the Ansár tribe: on the occasion of her marriage, the Prophet of God went to her house, and seated himself on the same bed with her. Some of the women then began to sing, and also sung something in praise of the Prophet: the meaning of which was, that he was so dignified that he knew of the futurity. The Prophet then prevented them from singing such praise, but advised them to sing on what they did before.

From this saying of the Prophet, it is evident that we ought not to believe that any of the prophets, saints, imáms, or martyrs, have any knowledge of concealed things. Nay, we should not have such belief even towards our own Prophet, nor should we say any such words in his praise. The panegyrics which the poets compose in commendation of the prophets, saints, pious men, pirs, or preceptors, and in defence observe that in poetry amplification is excusable, are not right, because the Prophet himself prevented the women of the Ansár tribe who were singing some poems in his praise, as has already been

noticed. A wise man, therefore, should not compose such eulogy himself, nor ought to approve of it.

In the Mishkah, it is inserted that 'Aisha said: "Whoever shall inform you that His Majesty (the Prophet) knew five things concerning which the revelation came down, certainly tells you a great lie." The allusion here is to the five things mentioned in the last part of the Súra "Lukmán," which have been already stated. Hence, if any one should say that the Prophet had a knowledge of those five things, i.e., of all God's secrets, he is verily a teller of falsehoods. Even should any one assert that the Prophet and other righteous men knew of these things, yet, from a regard for the Shar'a, or law, they abstained from avowing it, he is also a liar, because, beside God, no one has a knowledge of these matters. In the Mishkah, it is stated that Umm-ul-allah¹ said that the Prophet observed: "I swear by God, that notwithstanding I am the prophet of God, I do not know what will be done to me, or what to you;" that is, no one knows what God will do towards all His servants, either in this or in the world to come, nor in the grave. If God has ever given any information to any of His favourites regarding some points, either by revelation or inspiration, it is very limited; and they have no power to know the particulars thereof.

SECTION III.

On Association with the power of God.

This consists of the signs of the Korán, and the sayings of the Prophet, which condemn this vice. God says, in the Súra called "True Believers,"—"Say in whose hand is the kingdom of all things, who protecteth whom he pleaseth, but is protected of none; say, if ye know? They will answer, 'In God's.' Say, how, therefore, are ye bewitched?" That is, if any one be questioned as to who is he who has every thing in his command, and can do whatever he likes without hindrance, and with whose protection no one can interfere: the offender against whom no one can shelter, and whom no one can oppose? Verily, he will answer: God. To supplicate the attainment of desires, therefore, from others, is nothing less than insanity. The unbelievers of the time of the Prophet even admitted the truth of this fact, and confessed that there was no equal with God, but that they worshipped their idols as their intercessors with God; consequently they continued infidels. The inference to be drawn from this passage

¹ One of the Sahábíyah, or companions.

is, that he who believes any of the creatures of God to have been possessed of any share of His power, and looks upon them merely as intercessors, shall surely be guilty of Shirk, though he may not consider the agent equal with God, nor possessed of equal power. In the Súrah of "The Genii," God says: "Say, Verily I am not able of myself to procure you either hurt, or a right institution. Say, Verily none can protect me against God, neither shall I find any refuge besides Him;" that is, God directed the Prophet to warn the people that he himself had no power, either to hurt or benefit them, and that they ought not to be proud of having believed and followed him, and that under the impression that they have in him a great patron, a powerful agent, and a favourite intercessor, they should not go astray and do whatever they like; because it is a great error. "I cannot save you against God; nay, I am fearful for myself, as I cannot find refuge any where else but in God; then how can I protect others against Him?" It is to be inferred from the foregoing verse, that the common people, who having profound reliance on the prohibitions of their Pírs (religious guides), become forgetful of God and of His orders, and go far away from the right path; for the Prophet himself, the leader of all leaders (Pírs), night and day venerated the glory of God, and placed his dependence on his favour alone. What, then, can be expected from others? In the Súrah entitled "The Bee," God says: "They worship, besides God, idols which possess nothing wherewith to sustain them, either in heaven or on earth, and have no power;" that is, they respect them as they should revere God, although they have neither power to provide them with maintenance, nor to bring down rain from heaven to increase the vegetation on earth, nor are they possessed with any kind of influence whatsoever.

Some of the common people maintain that the prophets, saints, and other holy men are possessed of such power, yet, out of respect to God, they do not make a stir; but that, if they like, they can in a twinkling subvert the whole world, but do not exercise their power, merely from a regard to the Shar'a or holy law. This is certainly an erroneous view: they cannot interfere in such matters, nor have they the ability to do so. As God says, in the Súrah "Genii:" "Neither invoke, besides God, that which can neither profit thee nor hurt thee, for if thou do, thou wilt then certainly become of the unjust." The meaning of this is, that when you have such a powerful Almighty for your protector, why do you call on those who are quite humble and powerless, who can neither favour nor injure you. Verily, it is very unjust to attribute honours, due to God alone, to such mean creatures. What God observeth, in the Súrah "Saba," is very true: "Say unto

the idolators, call upon those whom ye imagine to be gods, besides God: they are not masters of the weight of an ant,¹ in heaven or on earth; neither have they any share² in the creation, or government of the same; nor is any of them assistant to Him therein. No intercession will be of service in His presence, except the intercession of him, to whom He shall grant permission to intercede for others; and they shall wait in suspense, until, when the terror shall be taken off from their hearts, they shall say to one another, 'What doth your Lord say?' They shall answer, 'That which is just; and He is the High, the great God.'" It is apparently to be concluded from this verse, that he who is supplicated by people to grant their wishes, or is invoked in the time of distress, or is able to attend to their supplications, must necessarily be himself an independent master, or the partuer of a master; or one having a mighty influence over the master; as, for instance, a king complies from political motives with the recommendations of his great Amírs, or nobles, from their being men of great consequence; because they are his assistants, and the support of his kingdom; and their disaffection might cause disorders in the affairs of the state. Again, in some cases, the king is easily obliged to yield to certain intercessions, whether he approves them or not: viz., when a thing is recommended to his notice by some of his favourite princesses, then, to please them, he is necessitated to grant their request. With God, however, the case is quite different; those who are called upon or supplicated to grant requests, are neither the masters of the smallest particle of a thing, in heaven or in earth, neither the partners of God, nor the supporters of his kingdom. They are likewise neither His assistants, nor can they intercede with Him, without His permission. Nay, in the court of God, their position is so awful, that when an order is issued from His throne, all of them, from fear, become senseless. From terror and respect, they cannot even make further inquiry, but satisfy themselves with the nature of the order, by asking each other. But their answer to God invariably is: "We believe and acknowledge it is true." Hence, their interference in any matter whatever, is totally out of the question, much less their interposition in behalf of any individual.

Here I must refer to a very useful point; every one ought, therefore, to give it an attentive hearing. It is as follows. Some people are very proud of the Shafá'at, or intercession of the Prophet, and putting a wrong construction on the term, have altogether forgotten

¹ Of a particle.

² Or, more exactly with the original, "neither have they any share in both."

God. To understand the real meaning of the term is therefore most necessary. The word *Shafí'at* simply means commendation (*Sifárish*). There are certain ways of commendation in this world; one, for instance, is the following: Suppose a man is convicted before a king, of theft, and his minister is disposed to procure his pardon; although the king is not disposed to forgive him, and, according to the law in force, the criminal deserves punishment, yet his majesty, from some political apprehensions, is obliged to accede to the commendation, and pardon the guilty. The motive of his adopting this course, perhaps proceeds from the circumstance of the mediator being an officer of the first rank in his realm, and the prosperity of his state greatly depending on such officer's good administration; hence, he thinks it advisable to suppress his own feelings of anger, and to pardon the thief, rather than to endanger the welfare of his government, by offending such a valuable minister. This sort of pardon is called *Shafá'ati-wajáhat*, or intercession from regard; *i.e.*, the commendation succeeds on account of a regard to the minister. This kind of intercession, however, is quite inadmissible before the majesty of God. Should any one consider any of the prophets, saints, imams, martyrs, and angels, *Shafí'as*, or intercessors with God, of similar merits, he shall be really guilty of association (*Shirk*), and is a very ignorant man, because he has not at all understood the dignity of God, nor duly appreciated the nature of the glory of the Lord of the kingdoms. Verily, the power of this King of kings is so great, that in a twinkling, solely by pronouncing the word "Be!" he can, if he like, create crores of apostles, saints, genii, and angels, of similar ranks with Gabriel and Muhammad, or can produce a total subversion of the whole universe, and supply its place with new creations. Every thing is created merely by his intention, there being no need of *Sámán* or materials. Should the whole of mankind and the genii be raised to the dignity of Gabriel and Muhammad, there can thereby be no addition to the lustre of His kingdoms, nor any diminution effected in it, if all of them turn out as bad as Satan, and *Dajjál* or Antichrist. In fact, in every sense of the word, God is the great of great, and king of kings. Neither has any one the power to profit him, or to hurt him.

The other mode of intercession is, that any of the king's wives, princes, or a favourite mistress intercedes in behalf of the thief, and the former, from an affectionate regard, forgives the criminal. It is called "*Shafá'ati-muhabbat*," or intercession from affection; that is, the king accedes to the commendation, merely from an affectionate regard. He perhaps thinks it better to subdue his indignation, and to pardon a thief, than to be subjected to the annoyance which might proceed

from the displeasure of his favourites. This sort of intercession, also, is not possible in the Darbár of God. Should, however, a person consider any one to be endowed with such influence, he is likewise guilty of the crime of Shirk, and is an ignorant person, as has already been noticed; because He alone is the sole master of the kingdom of the universe. Although out of bounty, He may confer on His favourite servants the epithets of, 1st, "Habíb," or favourite; 2nd, "Khalíl," or friends; 3rd, "Kalím," or speaker; 4th, "Rúhu-l-lah," or the Spirit of God; 5th, "Rasúl-i-Karím," or benevolent apostle; 6th, "Rúhu-l-Kuds," or Holy Ghost; and 7th, "Rúhu-l-Amín," or the guardian of souls;¹ yet He is the master of all. A servant is but a servant. No one can put his foot out of the limits of servitude, nor can he rise beyond the rank of a servant. As he is happy, from a notion of His boundless compassion, so he is equally trembling, night and day, before His awful majesty.

The third course of a pardon, in behalf of the thief, is that although his crime is proved, yet it is the first time he has been charged, and he is not a professional thief, but led to do so by some wicked design; moreover, he is repentant, and considers himself justly guilty of the crime he has committed, and is fearful of the punishment which he deserves according to the laws of the country. He seeks neither the intercession of the Amírs in his behalf, nor their prohibition against the king, but solely looks to the latter for pardon, and patiently awaits his order. It is possible the king may take pity on him, when some of his ministers seeing him so favourably disposed may come forward to intercede in behalf of the criminal; and the king, seemingly to raise his confidence, in compliance with his request, pardons the offender. In this case, the minister was not led to intercede in his behalf on account of his being his relation, or friend, or a beseecher of his protection, but solely to please his master, and with his tacit permission. Verily, he was the officer of the king, and not of the thief, and it is not reasonable that he should have protected the thief against the will of his master, and thereby exposed himself to the suspicion of having been one of his partners. This sort of intercession is named "Shafá'at-i-ba-izn," or intercession with permission. With His Most High Majesty, the Almighty, intercession of this nature is admissible. By the allusion which is made in the Korán and Hadís, regarding the intercession of certain prophets or apostles, only this sort of interposition is meant, and no other. Every servant

¹ Nos. 1st and 5th are titles of Muhammad; 2nd, of Abraham; 3rd, of Moses; 4th, of Jesus; and 6th and 7th, of Gabriel.

must therefore invoke God alone, at all times: Him alone he must fear: to Him alone he must offer his supplications; and before Him alone he must make confession of his sins. He alone must be considered the Lord and the Protector; and to the utmost extent of imagination, one must not rely for salvation on any others, besides God himself. Neither should any reliance be placed in their protection, because God himself is most merciful and compassionate. From His **grace** and bounty alone, He will relieve the distressed, and pardon the sinful, and will voluntarily make any whom He pleases one's intercessor. Hence, it is of supreme importance to depend on Him alone for this, as well as other favours; and whomsoever He will, He will appoint as our intercessor. We must not rely on the patronage of others, nor invoke them on that account, nor, relying on their protection forget our true Lord. We must neither depreciate His order, *i.e.*, the Shar'a, or law, nor, in preference to it, adopt the ways and customs of our supposed protectors. It is certainly a capital crime. All prophets, saints, &c. entirely disapprove of such courses, and will never be intercessors for such people. Nay, they are much displeased with them. Their primary object was to gain the good-will of God, and they preferred it above all other things, even wives, children, disciples, servants, slaves, and friends. Nay, if any of these ever swerved from the way of God, they became His enemies. Who, then, are these invokers of others, besides God, that these great and holy men, at variance with His will, will come forward to advocate their cause in the presence of God? Verily, the truth is, that their friendship and enmity are for God's sake only; and therefore if any one shall be sentenced by God to be thrown into hell, they will in addition be ready to give a helping hand to expedite his despatch.

Abn 'Abbás said one day: "I was riding behind his majesty (the Prophet), and he said: 'O boy, perform your duty to God, and seek to please Him, and He will guard you from all calamities: remember God, and you will find Him present with you; when you ask any thing, do it from God; and know if all men were brought together, and agreed to do you a small benefit, they would not be able to do more than God has written for you; and if all mankind were to combine in injuring you, they could not do it, but in the thing which God has written for you; the pens were taken up, and the books dried.'"¹ Although God is the King of kings, yet He is not proud like an earthly king, who from arrogance does not attend to the prayer of a distressed subject, so that the people are obliged to have recourse to

¹ Mishkát.

his minister, and seek his patronage to obtain their points. Nay, He is very benevolent and merciful ; there is no need of mediation with Him. He attends to every one who remembers Him, whether there is any to intercede in his behalf or not. He is pure and holy-natured, and higher than all. His court is not like those of worldly rulers, to which none of the subjects can have access, so that, their only recourse being to the Amírs and Wazírs, they are necessarily very submissive to the latter, and hang solely on them. But God is very close to His servants ; if the humblest of them be heartily devoted to Him, he will always find him present, whether in the time of need, or otherwise ; there is no curtain between Him and a servant, beyond the latter's own negligence. If any one, therefore, be far away from God, it is on account of his own negligence. God is present with all. It is self-evident, then, that he who calls upon the prophets and Pírs to attain proximity to God's throne, is ignorant of the circumstance that they are far off from him, while God is near at hand. His case assimilates to that of a subject, who is sitting in the presence of a king attentive to his prayer, and yet calls upon his ministers at a distance to explain so-and-so for him to his majesty. If one do this, it will be concluded that he is either blind or labouring under insanity. The Prophet has also said, that, when you ask any thing, do it from God ; and, at the time of distress, ask His assistance alone. What is written in one's fate, cannot be recalled, nor can it be defaced ; and, hence, if the whole of mankind, small and great, unite together to profit or hurt any one, they cannot do more than what has already been predetermined in his respect by God. Hence, the remark of the commonality of people, that the Auliyá (spiritual men) are endowed with power to make a change in fate, *i.e.*, they can grant children to those who are not doomed to get them, or can increase the age of those who have run the destined space,—becomes incorrect. Nay, it ought to be understood thus : that God alone will sometimes accept the supplications of all His servants, and the apostles, and saints, &c. in general, and He alone directs them to beseech Him, and has the power to grant their wishes. But notwithstanding the offering of supplications and compliance with them, both points have been already written down in each one's fate. Nothing in this world can take effect beyond the allotted destination, nor has any one the power of exceeding it. No servant, either small or great, apostle, or saint, has more power than that of asking every thing of God, and of supplicating Him alone in every matter. But it is optional with God from His mercy to accept one's supplication, or from His perfect wisdom to reject it.

Ibn-ul-anas heard the Prophet say, that " Verily, the field of man's mind is very extensive, and there is a way on every side of it. He who will allow his heart to pursue all ways, shall not be cared for by God, should he meet destruction in any of the forests; but reliance on God alone shall be enough to carry him out safe;" i.e., when one wants a thing, or is inveigled into any difficulty, series of thoughts cross his mind; sometimes he thinks of calling for assistance on certain apostles or imáms, and at others of making vows to certain Pírs, or martyrs; and at another time, he consults an astrologer, or interpreter of omens, on the subject. Thus God withdraws His favourable looks from those who follow many ways, and does not reckon them among His true servants. They, in fact, lose the right path of God; and by indulging in their own theories they are eventually destroyed. Some of them turn out atheists (Dahriyá), others heretics (Mulhid) and polytheists, while others renounce all creeds in existence. He alone who reposes his sole reliance on God, and does not pursue any other course, is liked by Him, and is guided in the right road; thereby he derives that comfort and ease of mind which never falls to the lot of a freethinker. Of course every one experiences in the world so much as has already been written in his fate, but the whole career of the life of a rationalist is nothing but misery and distress; while that of the other is incessant comfort and happiness.

Anas says that the Prophet said: " You must ask all your wants of God, even to the suet for your pot, and strings of your shoes being broken."¹ We should not suppose that God is like earthly kings, who attend to important affairs themselves, and leave the rest to be done by their ministers, whereby people are obliged to have recourse to the latter. But the management of God's affairs is quite different. He is self-sufficient, and can attend himself to crores of insignificant things. No one has any interference in his kingdoms. The smallest things, even, should be asked of Him alone; because others can neither give small or great. Abú Huraira says, when this verse was revealed, "Threaten thy clan's people who are thy kin, &c.," the Prophet collected them together, and spoke to them collectively, as well as respectively, saying, " O posterity of Kab bin Las! save your souls from fire, because, verily, I have no power regarding you with God; O posterity of Binkah! save your souls from fire, for, verily, I can be of no use to you with God; O descendants of 'Abd Shams! save your souls from fire, for surely I can be of no use to you with God; O descendants of 'Abd Manáf! save your souls from fire, because verily

¹ Mishkát.

I can be of no use to you before God; O posterity of Háshim and Abd-ul-mahbib! save your souls from fire, because verily I can be of no use to you with God; O descendants of Fatima! save your souls from fire: ask as much as you like of my personal property, but I can be of no use to you with God."

It is sometimes the case that the relations and kindred of a holy man place much confidence in his protection, and, being proud of it, have very little apprehension of God. The Prophet was therefore desired by Him to warn his kindred of the matter. Hence, he openly denounced threats to them, not excepting even his own children, that they were not to look to him for patronage in anything which is only in God's power, saying, "Here is my personal property, and you can take it without grudge, but I cannot assist you in affairs connected with God. They are quite out of my power, and I cannot therefore stand an advocate for you before Him. Every one, therefore, ought to look, himself, to his religious obligations personally, and contrive to save himself from fire, through his own means." It is evident, from the foregoing saying, that no relationship with a pious man can be of any use to the people. They will have to answer for their own actions individually. Hence, unless we have our accounts clear with God, we cannot escape punishment.

SECTION IV.

On Association with God in worship.

Worship is that duty which God has ordained to be performed by His servants, solely in His own honour. This section, therefore, treats of those verses of the Korán, and the traditions of the prophets, which teach us what honours are due to God alone, and ought not to be observed towards others besides Him, as such lead to the vice of Shirk.

God informs us, in the Súrah "Húd:"—"We formerly sent Noah unto his people, and he said, 'Verily I am a public preacher unto you; that ye worship God alone; verily, I fear for you the punishment of the terrible day;'" that is, the dispute between the Múslims and the unbelievers has commenced since the time of Noah. It is worthy of consideration whether the point in question, regarding which the approved servants of God have all along been preaching, viz., that the honours and respect which are due to God alone, should not be shown to others, is disputable. In the Súrah, this is distinctly explained; God says: "Worship not the sun, neither the moon, but worship God,

who hath created them, if ye serve Him;" that is, he who wishes to become a true servant of God, must worship Him alone, and should not prostrate himself before the sun, nor the moon. Our creed teaches that prostration is the due of the Creator alone, and must not be performed for any of His creatures. The sun, as well as the apostles and saints, are all equally included in the creation; if any one say, that in former days they prostrated themselves before some of the creatures, as the angels did before Adam, and Jacob before Joseph, and that, hence, if they may accord the same usage towards any of the Auliya's, or holy men, there is no matter; it is an error. Because, in the time of Adam, they married also with their sisters; on the same principle, then, such reasoners ought to marry their sisters also. The truth is, that a servant ought to obey the order of his master, -God; whatever He has ordered, His servants must acknowledge with heart and soul, without raising any objection, such as making references to old days, for, by bringing forward such reasons, one becomes an infidel. Suppose a king should enforce one regulation in his kingdom in one season, and replace it by enacting others in another; if, then, any one should say that he will not obey this order, but will continue to be guided by the former, he shall be taken for a rebel. God says, in the Súrah "Genii:"—"Verily, the places of worship are set apart unto God; wherefore invoke not any other therein together with God.¹ When the Servant of God stood up to invoke Him, it wanted little but that the genii had pressed on him in crowds, to hear him rehearse the Korán: saying, Verily I call upon my Lord only, and I associate no other gods with Him."²

The interpretation is, that when a true servant of God gets up to invoke Him with a pure heart, fools taking him for a very upright man, and supposing that he can give and do whatever he likes, gather around him in numbers. This man ought to tell them the truth, *i.e.*, he must warn them that it is God alone who should be called upon in the time of distress, and that from Him only they should expect profit or loss, because to ask such favours from others besides God is nothing but Shirk. He ought to inform them, further, that he does not approve of such proceedings, and that he who will act in this way towards Him must never expect that He will be gratified with his conduct. It is evidently to be concluded from this passage, that to stand up respectfully before any person, or to invoke him and

¹ "Verily, the prostration is set apart unto God alone."

² "When the servant of God stands up to invoke Him, crowds of people press on him."—Author and Abd-ul-Kádir, the famous translator of the Korán. This passage, as rendered by Sale, gives quite a different construction of the original.

glorify his name, are honours exclusively due to God. To observe them towards others, therefore, is capitally sinful (Shirk). God says, in the Sûrah of "Pilgrimage:" "Let them come to thee on foot, and on every lean camel, arriving from every distant road, that they may be witnesses of the advantages which accrue to them from visiting this holy place, and may commemorate the name of God on the appointed days, in gratitude for the brute cattle which he hath bestowed on them. Wherefore, eat thereof, and feed the needy and the poor. Afterwards, let them put an end to the neglect of their persons, and let them pay their vows, and compass the ancient house. This let them do." God has particularized certain places for His own worship, such as the Ka'ba, Minna, Safá, and Marwa, as well as the place of Abraham, and the mosque of the Ka'ba: nay, the whole of Mecca. He has also inspired people with a desire to visit these sacred places, from far and near, on foot and in conveyances. Besides, they undergo many other inconveniences of long journeys, and of remaining very neglectful of their persons. On arrival there, they sacrifice cattle in the name of God, and discharge their vows, and go round the Ka'ba. In short, they gratify their desires to the utmost extent, by doing honourable deeds to glorify God. Some are observed kissing the threshold, others offering supplications in front of the gateway, while some are praying with the ghiláf (or cover) in their hands, and others are about to devote themselves to the constant prayer of 'Itikaf, (continually in the mosque, particularly at Mecca,) while, again, others are respectfully looking at the holy temple. In a word, other similar honours are paid to God, for which He is pleased with His servants; and, in return, they receive both religious and worldly rewards. Such honours should not be paid to others; neither ought men to go purposely to visit the tombs or temples of others, in the same way as they go to Mecca, as has already been noticed; nor should they offer sacrifices there, or pay vows. Neither should they walk round the tombs, or respect the jungle (forest) around, by abstaining from hunting, or cutting trees or grass. By performing such ceremonies, and expecting therefrom worldly or religious profit, one becomes guilty of the crime of Shirk. These things must be abstained from, because such honours are peculiar to the Creator alone. None of the creatures deserve such respect. In the Sûrah "Cattle," God says: "Or that which is profaned, having been proclaimed¹ in the name of some other besides God."

¹ Instead of the word *proclaimed*, Sale has the word *slain*. Some learned men are of that opinion, also; but it is not so in the original. There is great difference of opinion among the Mahomedan commentators on this subject.

The flesh of such sacrificed animals is considered no less defiled and prohibited than that of swine and blood. It is itself a personified sin, because it has been offered to others besides God: therefore, it is unlawful and forbidden. It is not mentioned in this verse whether the sacrificed animal becomes unlawful, merely by pronouncing the name of any creatures in the act of sacrificing; but it is only stated, that as soon as it is proclaimed for any person besides God, saying that this cow is for Saiyad Ahmad Kabir, or that goat is for Sheikh Saddu, it becomes unlawful. Hence, all such animals, either a fowl or camel, whether offered to a prophet or saint, mother or father, devil or fairy, are equally defiled and prohibited, while the sacrificer becomes guilty of Shirk.

When Joseph the prophet was in imprisonment in Egypt, he spoke to the other prisoners thus: "O my fellow prisoners, are sundry lords better, or the only true and mighty God? Ye worship not, besides Him, other than the names which ye have named, ye and your fathers, concerning which God hath sent down no authoritative proof; yet judgment belongeth unto God alone, who hath commanded that ye worship none besides Him. This is the right religion, but the greater part of men know it not;" that is, it is very inconvenient for a slave to have many masters. Nay, he ought to have only one of great power, who is able to attend to all his wants. Moreover, they are very insignificant, and, in fact, have no real existence, and exist only in the fancy of the people. Hence, one is imagined to be the god of rain,—a second, of vegetation,—a third, a bestower of children and health, &c. They are called by their respective names, and are individually invoked to assist in matters within their powers. In the course of time, such an invention grows into custom, and becomes the idol of people, although they themselves are the authors of it. The truth is, that there is no god, but God; nor has any one that name or power, except in the false notion of the people. There is no one among the supposed deities who can be called master and supreme ruler: God alone deserves that appellation, and not Muhammad, or Ali. But those whose name is Muhammad and Ali, have no power whatsoever: yea, such persons who are imagined to have sole control of the universe, have really never existed; imagination alone has given them birth. But we are totally prohibited to exercise it so freely. It is not the order of God; and other authorities, besides Him, are not trustworthy. Nay, God has forbidden us to indulge in such theories. Who, then, is there, besides Him, who can be confidently trusted? Our creed consists in following His orders alone, and not the commands of others, in spite of Him. But many

people do pursue this course: nay, they prefer the customs of their ancestors.

It is clear, from the foregoing verse, that to follow the customs of others, and to hold them alone for precedents, are also prohibited. These honours are particularized for God alone. But if, notwithstanding, any one observe them for others, he shall be a transgressor, and guilty of Shirk. All orders of God were communicated to His servants through the medium of the Prophet. Should one, in preference to his communication, adopt the sayings of an imám, or a doctor of law, or a saint, or a maulavi, or an upright man, or forefather, or a king, or a minister, or a padre (Christian priest), or a pandit (Hindu priest), or at variance with the Korán and Hadís, or should prefer the sayings of a Pír, or a preceptor, or even consider that the Shar'a (Law) is the order of the Prophet, saying, that whatever he liked he had communicated, and that obedience to the same had become incumbent on his followers, he will certainly be guilty of Shirk. Nay, the true ruler is God, and the Prophet was His messenger. Hence, all such sayings of others, which are consistent with the messages we received through him, must be obeyed, otherwise they must be rejected. Moawia says, the Prophet said, "that he who is desirous of having people stand before him like idols, must make his abode in hell-fire."¹ The meaning is, that he who wishes that the people should stand before him respectfully, with folded arms, without stirring, moving, or looking about, like personified idols, shall be among the inmates of hell; because he aspires to godship, and exacts that respect for himself which is due by a servant to God, at the time of offering prayers, when he stands with folded arms. To stand therefore before any one, merely out of respect, is also prohibited; and is observable for God alone. Such honour, then, must not be done unto others. Soban observed that the Prophet said: "The resurrection will not come to pass, till some of the sects from among my followers mix up with the Mushriks (associators with God), and till others commence to worship monuments."¹

Idolatry is of two sorts; one is to make an image after the name of any creature, and then to worship it. In the Arabic language, it is called "Sanam," or image. The other is a "Thán," or monument; i.e., to worship a particular spot, or a tree, a stone, or a piece of wood, or paper, after the name of any of God's creatures. In the Arabic idiom, it is called "Wasan," or a monument. It includes tombs, temples, sepulchres, catacombs (Láhid), as well as Chári (standards),

¹ Mishkát.

and Ta'zias, besides the 'Alam and Shaddás (standards) of Imám Kásim, Mahdi of Pír Dastgír, Chabutrá, or platform of the Imám,¹ or the sitting-spots of the teachers and pirs. All these things are worshipped by many people, where they go and make vows and offerings. So are the monuments of martyrs, as well as colours and guns, to which they sacrifice goats, and also take oaths. In a similar way, some places are dedicated to some diseases. For instance, the temples of small-pox, Masán, Bhowání, and Káliká, all Hindu deities. The Shirk to which the Prophet has alluded, that which at the approach of the resurrection will be committed by some of his followers, has reference to the sort of worship above enumerated, which will be different from the Shirk of the present age; such as that of the Hindus, or of the Arabs, who only worship images; both these are the associators of others with God, and, hence, in rebellion against Him, and among the enemies of the Prophet.

Abú Tofail says, that Ali once took out a book, in which was written: "that God's curse is on him who slays a victim for others besides Him." It appears that the one who kills an animal in the names of others besides God, shall be accursed. Ali had a book which contained several of the Prophet's traditions. The foregoing is one of them. From it, it is manifest, that killing an animal is also one of the honours which are peculiar to God alone. They must be slain in His name only, and not of others, which is Shirk.

'Aisha says, that she heard the Prophet observe, that "day and night will not cease (*i.e.*, the resurrection will not happen) until Lát and Izza shall be worshipped." Then, I said, "O Prophet, verily, when this verse was revealed,—'It is He who hath sent His apostle with the direction and true religion, &c.,' I had supposed that all other religions had become null and void." His Highness replied, that "Verily, idolatry will take place in the same way in the latter times, so long as God wills. Afterwards, he will send a fragrant gale, when every one who has in his heart even as much Imán (or faith) as a grain of mustard seed, will die; but those only will remain, who have no good in them, and will return to the religion of their ancestors (idolatry);" that is, God has said, in the Korán, "that He has sent His apostle with directions and true religion, that he may cause it to appear superior to every other religion, although the polytheists be averse thereto." 'Aisha understood, from this passage, that the true religion will remain in force until the last day; but the Prophet told her, "Verily, it will be so as long as God wills; and, afterwards, He

¹ All these ceremonies are performed during the Muharram.

will send down such a gale, as that all good servants who have the smallest particle of faith in their hearts will die; and those alone will remain, who have no good in their mind, neither will they respect God, nor follow the right path of His messenger, but will hold fast, as precedents, the customs of their forefathers." Thus, they will plunge into Shirk, because the forefathers of many were nothing more than ignorant polytheists; and, hence, those who pursue their course shall become so themselves. It is to be concluded that, in the latter time, the old idolatry should come again in force; so the prophecy of the Prophet has begun to be verified in the present age, because the majority of Mussulmans who have an idolatrous veneration for the Prophet, and saints, imáms, and martyrs, are also affected with the old polytheism, and worship the idols of the infidels, and follow their customs. Inasmuch as they are in the habit of consulting the Brahmans, taking omens (shugun), and having a belief in the bad effects proceeding from inauspicious times, they also worship the divinities of the small-pox, and Masín, (the Hindu female deities,) invoke Lona-cha-mari and Kalma-bír (the deities of the magicians), observe the festivals of the Holí and Dewálí (Hindu feasts), as well as make rejoicings on the Nauroz, or day of the new year, and believe in the calamities proceeding from the entrance of the moon into the sign of the Scorpion. All these customs, which are now prevalent among the Mussulmans, belong either to the Hindus or Magi. The door of Shirk is thus fully opened among the Muhammadans, and they, totally giving up the Korán and Hadís, solely follow the customs of their forefathers.

Abdullah-bin-Omar heard the Prophet say: "When Dajjál (Anti-christ) will come out, God will send down Jesus, the son of Mary, who will trace out Dajjál, and destroy him. Afterwards, God will send a cold breeze from the side of Syria, when none of those who have the least particle of faith in their hearts shall remain, but those only will continue who are wicked, and sunk in ignorance, like ravenous brutes, having no distinction between good and bad. Then the Devil will appear among them in disguise, and say: 'Are you not ashamed of your wicked acts?' and they will ask him to direct them, saying, 'What are we to do?' Then Satan will tell them to worship idols, and at this time they will have plenty of subsistence, and live comfortably;"¹ i.e., in the latter part of the world, all the faithful will die, and the foolish men only will remain alive. Night and day, they will think of nothing but depriving others of their property, having no notion of good or bad. Then the devil will scold them, saying,

¹ Mishkát.

“that to be of no creed is very shameful.” This warning will create a desire in them to adopt some religion; yet they will not have the most remote idea of the holy writings of God and his Apostle, but invent some religious ways, from their own minds, which will lead them to the vice of Shirk. In this state, even, they will have abundance of every thing, and live agreeably. This circumstance will excite them to continue in this course with greater perseverance, because they will think that the more they persist in it, the more successful they are in attaining their wishes. Hence, we ought to be very fearful of God, because although sometimes one of His servants is deeply involved in Shirk, yet, to mislead him, he complies with all the requests which he makes to others, which circumstance impresses the transgressor with the conviction that he pursues a right path. We should not, therefore, place much trust in the attainment or non-attainment of our wishes; and ought not, in consequence, to abandon the true creed of the unity of God. We infer, from the foregoing tradition, that although a man be full of sins, may have no shame, be a regular appropriator of other's property, and have no idea of good or bad, yet he is better than one who is guilty of Shirk, by worshipping others besides God; because, in this way, he is misled by Satan.

Abú Huraira says, that he heard from the Prophet, who said, “that the resurrection will not come to pass, till the buttocks of the women of the tribe of Daus shall be moved around the idol of Zail-khalsah.”¹ Daus is the name of one of the tribes of Arabia. They had a *but*, or idol, called Zail-khalsah. It was destroyed in the time of the Prophet, who once remarked, that on the proximity of the resurrection, this idol will be again worshipped, and the women of the tribe of Daus will recommence to make *tawáf*, or go around so ludicrously, that their buttocks will be observed wagging. Hence, we ought never to make circumambulation of any other place besides God's, because this sin is also included in the crime of Shirk; and, moreover, the transgressor thereby imitates the infidels.

SECTION V.

On the habit of Associating others with God.

This section consists of the verses of the Korán and the sayings of the Prophet, which have reference to this point,—that people should not, in worldly affairs, honour others in the way which is peculiar to

¹ Mishkát.

God alone. In the *Súrah* of "Women," God says: "The infidels invoke beside Him only female deities;¹ and only invoke rebellious Satan. God cursed him; and he said: 'Verily, I will take of thy servants a part cut off from the rest; and I will seduce them, and will insinuate vain desires into them, and I will command them, and they shall cut off the ears of cattle; and I will command them, and they shall change God's creatures.' But, whoever taketh Satan for his patron, besides God, shall surely perish with a manifest destruction. He maketh them promises, and insinuateth into them vain desires; yet Satan maketh them only deceitful promises. The receptacle of those shall be hell, they shall find no refuge from it." It is evident that those persons besides God, who are invoked by people, are no other than women. Some have fixed in their imagination, upon Hazrat Bîbí, (Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet,) others on 'Aisha, (one of the wives of the Prophet), as well as on Bîbí Otálí (a sanctified woman), besides Síyah-parí or black fairy, and Sítlá, Musún, and Kálí (Hindu goddesses). In short, they have other similar notions, but in truth there is neither a woman nor a man of that description. It is nothing but the people's own fancy, into which they are wheedled by the devil. Those who sometimes consider themselves to have been possessed of some spiritual being, and pretend to display some miraculous works, are much mistaken, because these persons are no other than Satan himself. Hence, all the offerings which are made to the supposed female deities, are virtually taken by the devil, while the offerers thereby derive no earthly or religious profit, because the devil has been driven away from the court of God. What good then can be expected from him? He is the enemy of the whole of mankind, and never wishes good for them. Nay, he has declared before God, that he will seduce many of His servants to be his own followers; that he will, moreover, command them to indulge in their own notions, and to mark animals as offerings in his name, such marks as slitting or cutting off their ears, or tying threads to their necks, or colouring their forehead with Henna (a red dye), or tying garlands to their face, &c. In short, to mark an animal similarly in the name of any other is also included in the same category.

Satan has also said, that he will induce the people to alter their natural shape formed by God. Thereby he means, that he will seduce some to keep *chutí* or locks of hair, as well as to make holes in their noses and ears, in the name of some one, while he will com-

¹ In the original, there is no corresponding word for deities. The text runs thus--"Invoke besides him, women."

mand others to shave their beards with a notion to add to their beauty, and direct others to clear off the *chár-ábrú* (beard, eye-brows and hair) to convince others of their pious character. In a word, all these are temptations of the devil, and at variance with the orders of God and His Prophet. Verily, nothing is more foolish than to abandon God, who is so merciful, and follow Satan who is the avowed enemy of all mankind. Moreover, the devil, in addition to his enmity, has no other power besides insinuating wicked desires into the people. He himself has said that he makes deceitful promises; saying that if they will follow so-and-so, they will derive such and such profit, and he also gives them other distant hopes, saying that if they will do such and such things, so-and-so will be prepared for them. None of these expectations are, however, realised; but the man is led astray, and missing the path of God, runs after false deities. But there can be nothing more than what has already been written in one's fate by God. No advantage is then derived by following others. All such desires emanate from the insinuations of Satan; and the result of which is nothing less than totally to forget God, and be involved in the crime of Shirk; and hence the person misled becomes a real inhabitant of hell. Nay, he becomes so much entrapped in the snares of the devil, that even if he wished to disentangle himself, he feels his inability to do so.

God says in the *Súrah "Aráf:"* "It is he who has created you from one person, and out of him produced his wife, that he might dwell with her; and when he had known her, she carried a light burden for a time, wherefore she walked easily therewith. But when it became more heavy they called upon God their Lord, saying, 'If thou give us a child rightly shaped, we will surely be thankful.' Yet when he had given them a child rightly shaped, they attributed companions unto him for that which he had given them. But far be that from God, which they associated with him." It is to be concluded that it is God who created man, and it is He who provides him with a wife, and creates affection between them: and when they expect a child, they promise that if they have a good shaped child, they will feel grateful to God. But as soon as their request is granted by the birth of a child, they begin to follow others, by making vows and promising offerings. Some take their children to the tombs and monuments; others, to propitiate the gods, keep locks on the heads of their children, put garlands round their necks, and chains on their legs, while some make their children wear the dress of a Fakir devoted to a certain deity. To please them further, they also name their children *Nabí Bakhsh* (granted by the Prophet), *Pír Bakhsh*, *Sítlá Bakhsh*, and

Gangá Bakhsh, &c. God, however, has no need of their vows and offerings, and is free from wants, yet the people become rebellious of their own accord. In the Súrah of "Cattle," God says: "Those of Mecca¹ set apart unto God, a portion of that which he hath produced of the fruits of the earth and of cattle; and say, this belongeth unto God (according to their imagination) and this unto our companions. And that which is destined for their companions cometh not unto God; yet that which is set apart unto God, cometh unto their companions. How ill do they judge:"—that is, the whole cultivation and cattle are produced by God, and yet the people separate from it a portion as offerings for others, as well as they do for God; nay, they respect the offerings destined for others more than that of God. In the same Súrah, God continues to state: "They also say, these cattle and fruits of the earth are sacred; none shall eat thereof, but who we please (according to their imagination); and there are cattle whose backs are forbidden to be crossed, or laden with burdens; and there are cattle on which they commemorate not the name of God, when they slay them; devising a lie against him: God shall reward them for that which they falsely devise." Some people in their imagination determine that such a thing is sacred, and that such an one is to eat, and such an one not to eat of it; others also hold some animals consecrated, never using them in riding or loading; nay, they consider them for the use of others (gods), and yet they think by such proceedings, God is pleased and grants their wishes. But this is a great falsehood, because they shall be duly punished for their conduct. In the Súrah "Table," it is stated: "God hath not ordained anything concerning Bahíra, nor Sáiba, nor Wasíla, nor Hámi; but the unbelievers have invented a lie against God: and the greater part of them do not understand." These were the names which were given by the unbelievers, to certain cattle, namely, the animal whose ears were slit and which was set apart in the name of a certain god, was named "Bahíra." The one which was devised as "sáud," or set at liberty, was called "Sáiba." They were also in the habit of making a vow, that if such a female animal should be delivered of a male, they would sacrifice the same in honour of their god, but if it so happened that it gave birth to a pair, a male and a female, in that case the former was preserved, and was called "Wasíla." The female which had given birth to ten young ones, was not afterwards used in loading or riding, and was named "Hámi." In the foregoing verse, God alludes to these customs, saying, that he has not ordained them, but that they have invented them from their

¹ In the original, instead of "those of Mecca," is, "the people."

own folly. Hence, to select any cattle in the name of a certain deity, and to mark it in his name, as well as to determine that the offering to such a god ought to be a cow, or to such an one a goat, and to a third, a fowl, &c., are all foolish customs, and against the ordinance of God. In the Súrah of "The Bee," it is stated: "And say not that wherein your tongues utter a lie. This is lawful, and this is unlawful; that ye may devise a lie concerning God; for they who devise a lie concerning God shall not prosper." From this verse it is evident, that people ought not to make false inventions, saying that such a thing is legal and such a thing illegal. God alone has the power of deciding every point. It is a manifest error to think that by following a certain method wishes can be attained; or that by such a course they will be thwarted; because by inventing lies against God, no one can attain his desires.

Those who say that in the month of Muharram, people should not use "pán" (betel leaf), or red cloth; that the dish prepared in honour of Hazrat Bibí (Fatima), ought not to be eaten by a male; that on making the offering to Her Highness, the redness of certain herbs, as well as "Missi" (a stuff with which the Indian women blacken their teeth) and Henna are most essential; that it ought not to be partaken of by a slave-girl, or a woman who has had a second husband, or by those of low caste and bad characters; that the offering for Sháh Abd-ul-Hakk should be exclusively composed of Halwá (an esteemed confection), and in preparing it, certain cautions should be adopted, and a Hukká smoker ought not to eat thereof; that the offering to Sháh Madár ought to consist of Malída (minced cake mixed up with sugar), and that for Bo Ali Kalandar or Samanni, of curd and other ingredients of equal quantity; and for the As'háb-i-Kahf (the companions of the cave, i.e., the Seven Sleepers) of cakes and flesh; that on marriage occasions, the observance of certain ceremonies is necessary, and so-and-so on a death; that after the occurrence of a demise one ought not to make rejoicing nor associate with people, nor prepare pickle with his or her hands [for a certain period]; and that so-and-so should avoid to use blue and red-coloured cloths; are all liars and guilty of Shirk: nay, they are in rebellion against God, and try to set up a new Shar'a for themselves.

Zaid-bin-Khálid said, that the Prophet once officiated as Imám to us in Hadaibiyah after a rainy night; and when the prayers were over, he turned towards the assembly and asked: "Do you know what your cherisher said?" They answered that God and the Prophet knew best. His Highness then observed that God said: "My servants had this morning risen, some believers and others infidels; viz., those who said that they got rain by the favour and bounty of God are believers

in me, and deniers of stars; and those who said that they had it from the influence of such and such a star are infidels, and believers therein.”¹ From this passage it is to be inferred, that those who ascribe similar occurrences as emanating from the influence of stars are reckoned by God among his deniers and the worshippers of stars; while those who consider God alone as the author of every earthly affair, are esteemed among his true believers, and distinguished from the worshippers of stars. Hence, to believe in good or bad moments or dates, and to consult astrologers with respect to auspicious days, is merely the business of star-worshippers. Ibn-'Abbás said that he heard the Prophet saying: “Whoever obtains a little knowledge of astrology beyond what has been explained by God, acquires a branch of magic. An astrologer is a conjuror; a conjuror a magician; and a magician is an infidel.”¹ God has made mention of the stars also in his holy writings, that they serve to develop God's power and wisdom, and are ornaments for the skies, and are also used as missiles against the devil [when he attempts to ascend the heavens], but no mention is made that they have any influence in the affairs of the world, or that any good or evil proceeds from their influences. Wherefore, he who gives up the right path, and employs himself in obtaining a knowledge of this subject and thereby becomes a secret-teller, as an astrologer does by the aid of genii, and gives information of hidden things from his knowledge of astrology, he will be considered as an astrologer. And there is no difference between the ways of an astrologer and a conjuror, (called in Arabic, Káhin), and the latter, like a magician, is on friendly terms with the genii. But the way to acquire their friendship is to believe in and invoke them, and to make them certain offerings, by which process one becomes an infidel. Hence, the ways followed by the astrologers, conjurors, and magicians, are the ways leading to infidelity.

Hafsa said that she heard the Messenger of God state: “Whoever goes to a secret-teller and asks him any hidden things, his prayer shall not be accepted for forty days;”¹ that is, if any one consults a person who pretends to tell of hidden things, his prayers will not be acceptable for forty days, because thereby he will be guilty of Shirk, which frustrates all prayers. All those who pretend to have a knowledge of astrology, Ramal,² Jafar,³ omens, hidden things as well

¹ Mishkát.

² The science of sand. Upon this sand (for which paper, however, is sometimes substituted) they draw many unequal lines, upon which are disposed a certain number of points, from the combination of which they pretend to foretell future events.—*Richardson*.

³ The science of dice, by means of which they pretend to know of secret and future things.

as of heavenly inspiration, and oracles, are included among the description of people above alluded to. Kabisah informs us that the Messenger of God said, "that taking omens from the flight of birds, &c., or from throwing anything, was included amongst the customs of the infidels. The Prophet also repeated thrice, that taking omens was infidelity."¹

It was a prevailing custom among the Arabians to take omens by similar means, on which they placed great reliance, wherefore the Prophet warned them repeatedly, that their so doing was among the actions of the idolaters. The Prophet also observed, as stated by Abú Huraira: "There is no such thing as Humá: no one catches a disease of another, nor is there any influence from bad omens; but if there be any, it is confined to three things, namely, to a horse, a house, and a woman."¹ It was a prevailing belief of the ignorant Arabians that when a man was killed, and he was not revenged, an owl came out from the crown of his head, which wandered about, crying aloud. It was called "Humá." The Prophet, therefore, informed them, that their notion was incorrect. If any one should yet say, that a man is transformed into some animal after death, he must be a liar. It was also an impression on the minds of the people that some diseases, such as itch and leprosy, were contagious. The Prophet told them that this notion likewise was wrong. It is customary among the people that, when a child is affected with small-pox, they do not allow their own children to go near it, fearing that they may catch his disease. It is similar to the belief of the polytheists, and therefore must not be followed. It was also the opinion of the old Arabs, that such and such an action had proved auspicious, and so-and-so inauspicious. They were told that it was also an erroneous impression, but that if there was any influence it was in three things, namely, in a house, a horse, and a woman. It appears that these things sometimes turn out inauspicious, but no rule has been laid down whereby to know of their evils. The people say that a horse, having a tiger-like mouth (Shír-dahan), or having a white star-like spot in the forehead (Sitára-peshání), as well as a bold woman, are unfortunate. They have no criterion whereby to judge of their good or evil results. The Mussalmans ought therefore to cherish no such opinion: but when they purchase a house, a horse, or a slave-girl, or marry a woman, they ought to supplicate God alone for their goodness, and to him alone they should apply to be sheltered from their evil influences. In other things, they should not entertain their own ideas with regard to their goodness and badness.

¹ Mishkát.

Abú Huraira heard the Prophet saying: "The sickness of one does not infect the other, nor does an owl come out of the skulls of the dead, neither is the belief of evil springing from Safar right." A person who had a ravenous and insatiable appetite, which disease is called Ju'u-l-kalk (ravenous hunger), was supposed by the ignorant Arabs to have been seized by the devil, who, they thought, used to eat up the extraordinary quantity of food, which the patient swallowed. It was named "Safar." The Prophet warned them that this belief was equally wrong, saying, "there was no such thing as the seizure of one by the devil." It is apparent, then, that the idea of the people, who ascribe some diseases to demons, such as Sítlá, Masán, and Berahi (Hindu female deities), and thereby acknowledge their respective power, is likewise wrong. It was also the impression of the Arabs, that the month of Safar was unfortunate; and therefore they avoided doing anything during that month. The belief of the people at the present time is, that the first thirteen days of that month are inauspicious, it being supposed that some evils descend at that period; and, hence, they have named it "Tera-tezi" (sharpness of thirteen), because, by the sharpness thereof, their wishes are supposed to be frustrated. Such impressions, as well as the considering any month or day productive of evil, are among the superstitions of polytheism.

Jábir says, that "the Messenger of God once got hold of the hand of a leper, and put it into a dish out of which he himself was eating, and observed that 'he relied on God.'"¹ We must repose our entire trust and reliance on God alone: the bestowal of health and sickness is totally in His hands. On our own part, we never avoid eating with a diseased person, nor believe that a disease is ever of an infectious nature.

Jábir says: "An Arab came to the Prophet, and said that the people were labouring under great distress,—that their families were starving, and so were the cattle; 'I beg of you, therefore, to ask of God to send us rain; for we stand much in need of your intercession with Him.' The Prophet exclaimed, 'God is pure! God is pure!' and continued repeating these words with displeasure, until the effects of it were perceptible in the countenance of his companions. After this, he remarked: 'How great a fool is this man! God does not intercede with any one; for His magnificence is greater than that. What an idiot! Don't you know what God is? Verily, His throne is upon the heavens, in this way [shewing by his fingers that it was in the form of a dome], and yet, notwithstanding its strong position

¹ Mishkát.

and greatness, it makes a noise under God, as the saddle of a camel does when ridden upon.'"¹ The purport is, that Arabia was once visited by a famine, when one of the Arabs came to the Prophet, and informed him of the misery of the people, and begged him to offer a supplication in their behalf, and make intercession with God, and the intercession of God with the Prophet. On hearing this application, the Messenger of God became much alarmed and awful. Then he began to speak of the greatness of God: so much so, that a change was visible in the faces of the whole assembly. Next, His Highness explained the matter to the Arab, thus: "When one wishes to make some one his intercessor with another, the latter must be the sole master of the request asked for, and be able to grant it in compliance with the supplication of the mediator. When you said that you would have God intercede with me, you thereby supposed me to be the real master: you made a great mistake." The glory of God is very great. All the apostles and prophets, in comparison with Him, are less than the most worthless atom. His 'arsh, or throne, surrounds the heavens, in the shape of a cupola; and yet, notwithstanding its greatness, it is unable to sustain the weight of the greatness of the Almighty. Nay, it makes a noise under His greatness. No creature is able to give a description of His grandeur; nay, no one can even run his imagination over the field of God's magnificence: much less can he interfere in the affairs of His kingdoms. He is the sole master of His kingdoms, and manages all His affairs, without the assistance of an army and courtiers. In a twinkling, he can despatch off crores of actions. Who, then, can dare say that he is Mukhtiâr, or master, besides Him, or that God does intercede with him. Praised be God, the best of all creatures is the Prophet. When in the court of God, such is his own position, that merely by hearing the above words from an Arab, he from fear became senseless, and commenced to eulogize the exceeding greatness of God, with which the whole universe, from His throne to the earth, is filled; who else, then, can advance a pretension to relationship, or even friendship, with the Supreme Ruler of the universe? People, however, are still very forward to put forth such pretences. One says, that he has purchased his Cherisher for a kauri, or shell; another says, that he is two years older than he; and a third boldly declares, that if God should appear before him in any other shape than that of his Pîr, he would never see Him! They have also composed poetry to a similar effect; for instance, one distich is this: "My heart having been affected with the love of Muhammad,

¹ Mishkât.

I have thereby become the rival of God." Another runs thus: "Be insensible of God, but be attentive to Muhammad." Others, again, in their enthusiasm, go so far as to exalt Muhammad beyond the very Divinity. God save us from such things! Verily, the following distich is very praiseworthy: "I beg of God to direct me to respect Him alone, because a disrespectful is excluded from the favour of the Cherisher." There is a well known khatam, or particular passage, recited to propitiate Sheikh Abd-ul-Kâdir Jilânî, a part of which reads thus: "O Abd-ul-Kâdir, grant us our desire, for God's sake!" It ought not to be recited so; but if, instead, it be said: "O God, give us such and such a thing, for the sake of Abd-ul-Kâdir," it is admissible. In short, no such word from which the crime of Shirk, or disrespect to God, may be comprehended, ought to be uttered. His glory is very great, and He is an emperor, who wants nothing. He can make one responsible for the slightest fault, and can pardon others for an equal good. It is also objectionable to speak a word, which may apparently convey a disrespectful meaning, and by which it may be said that the speaker meant quite a different thing. An enigmatical or obscure style may be used in other places, but there is no need of it in the presence of His Majesty—God. No one makes a joke of his king, nor speaks philosophically. Such liberty may be taken with friends, but not with a king, or father.

Ibn Omar says, that he heard from the Prophet: "The best of all names, are Abd-ullah and Abd-ur-rahman."¹ They mean the servants of God; and hence, Abd-ul-Kudûs, Abd-ul-Khâlik, Khudâ Bakîsh, and Allahdîn, are also recommendable. In short, all such names as bear reference to God, especially those in which the word grant, on His part alone, is understood, are legal.

Sharaib said: "My father came to the Prophet with his tribe, when he heard them calling my father Abû-l-Hakam (the chief arbitrator); the Messenger of God told him, "Verily, God alone is the real arbitrator of all matters, and He alone is the Hakam; why do they, then, call you Abu-l-Hakam?"¹ To settle every point, or to decide every dispute, is in the power of God alone; and this of His attributes shall be fully developed on the day of the resurrection, when all matters, either religious or worldly, shall be decisively brought to an adjustment. None of His creatures, however, possess power to do so. It is to be concluded, that we ought not to use such words for others, as are peculiar to God alone; viz., the "King of kings," "Master of the whole universe," "the Lord and Dispenser of

¹ Mishkât.

every thing," "the Worshipped, Gracious, and Free from wants," as well as similar others.

Hazifah says, that His Highness the Prophet said: "Do not utter together, that if God and Muhammad will; but say, alone, what God wills."¹ In such matters, therefore, in which no creatures of God have any interference, we should not associate with Him the name of a creature, let him be ever so great and near to God. As an instance, We should not say, that what God and the Prophet like, will be done; because every function of the world can be discharged by God alone, while nothing is in the will of the Prophet. Moreover, if any one should ask, what is in the mind of such person? or when will the marriage of such a one take place? or how many leaves are there on such a tree? or how many stars are there in the heavens? in reply, it ought not to be said, that God and the Prophet know; because the secrets are known to God alone, while the Prophet is unaware of them. But in religious matters, if it be said, that so-and-so is the order of God and the Prophet, there is no objection; because all religious affairs have been made known to His apostle, and He has ordered all His servants to obey him.

Ibn Omar says, that he heard the Prophet observe: "He who swears by others besides God, is guilty of polytheism;" and Abd-ur-rahman also says: "Swear not by false deities, nor by your own forefathers. He who has need to take an oath, must swear by God, or maintain silence." And again, Abu-Huraira says: "He who swears by Lát and Izza, must repent, and say: 'There is no god but God.'"¹ It is evident that the people, in the time of ignorance, were in the habit of swearing by others. They were therefore cautioned, that if they did so by mistake, they ought to rectify this error, by saying, "There is no god but God." Hence, to take an oath by others, has been forbidden. Should one come out of a person's mouth unintentionally, he must repent of it; for by taking such oaths as are in vogue among the infidels, one abuses his faith.

Sábit says, that, "in the time of the Prophet, a man had made a vow to slay a camel at a place named Tuána. He came to His Highness, and informed him thereof. The Prophet asked him: 'Is there in that place any monument of the time of ignorance, which may have been worshipped?' The persons present said, 'No.' Again, he said, 'Is there any festival celebrated?' They replied, 'No.' Then the Prophet told the man to discharge his vow, because no vow was lawful the performance of which was to be attended with an offence

¹ Mishkát.

to God." From this, it is inferred, that to make vows to others besides God, is sinful; and such vows should not be performed. In the first place, no vow should be made to any one else besides God. In the second, if it has been made, it should not be performed; because its very discharge is sinful, and to persist in such a course is more so. It is also manifest, that in a place where people offer animals to others besides God, or where they assemble to perform some idolatrous act, or to worship some object, the performance of vows to God, even, in that place, is not lawful; nay, even the mixing in such assembly, though with a good motive, is improper; because to resemble them is of itself bad.

'Aisha says: "The Prophet was sitting together with muhájárin (omigrants) and the ansár (assistants), when a camel arrived and prostrated himself before His Highness. One of the companions then said: 'O Prophet of God, since you are worshipped by the beasts and trees, it is necessary that we should do the same.' The Prophet said, 'Worship your 'Cherisher' alone, and honour your brother;'"¹ that is, all mankind are brothers among themselves; the one who is very pious, is like an elder brother, and he ought to be respected as such; while the Lord of all is God. He alone, then, must be worshipped. All the apostles and pious men, the imáms, pírs, and martyrs, as well as those human beings nearest to God, are His humble servants, and our brothers. The difference is, that they were made great men by God, and we have been placed under their command, and are consequently of a lower grade. In point of respect, we ought to honour the former as human beings, not as God. An inference is also to be drawn from the foregoing, that some saints are worshipped by the beasts, viz., certain tombs are visited by tigers, and others by elephants and wolves. But men, however, ought not to take such incidents as precedents for themselves; nay, they must show only as much honour to others, as they have been directed to do by God, and by the Law. If a tiger remains at a tomb, night and day, a man ought not to follow his example.

Kais-bin-Sád said: "I went to a town named Herát, where I saw the people making prostration before the chief of the place. I then said to myself, 'Verily, the Prophet is worthy of being worshipped.' Then I came to the Prophet, and told him that the people of Herát worship their chief, and you are then most worthy of being worshipped. His Highness said to me, 'Will you prostrate at my grave, if you pass by it?' I said, 'No.' Then, he said, 'Do not worship me.'"

¹ Mishkát.

The Prophet meant, that one day he would die, and return to the dust; and could not therefore be worthy of worship, and that this honour was due only to the holy-natured God. From the foregoing tradition, the performance of prostration is lawful neither for the dead nor the living, for a grove nor a monument, because the man who is alive shall one day die, and the man now dead must have been once alive, and liable to human frailties. Since his death, then, he cannot possibly have been deified, but may still be a servant of God.

Abu Huraira says, the Prophet has ordained: "You must not say, 'my servant' (banda), or 'my female servant,' because you all are the servants of God, and all your women His female servants. A slave, also, must not call his master 'Málik' because God alone is Málik of all."¹ Hence, a master must not call his slave and slave-girl 'my banda, or bandí,' and a slave must not call his master 'Málik;' because God is the chief master (Málik) of all who are His servants. Although one may be the slave of a person, yet they must not say among themselves, that such a one is the slave of so-and-so, his master. Such being the fact, why do they become false bandas, by adopting certain names; viz., Abd-un-Nabi (servant of the Apostle), Banda Ali (servant of Ali), Banda Huzúr (servant of His Majesty), &c., as well as Paristár-kháss, or especial slave-girl, &c. And they must also not say to any, 'Khudáwand,' 'Khudáigán,' 'Lord of Lords,' &c.; the use of such terms for others is highly improper, and very disrespectful to God. It is likewise idolatrous, and a gross falsehood, to say to any of the creatures, "You are the master of my life and property. I am entirely at your command. Do with me whatever you may like."

Omar said, that he heard the Prophet say: "Do not exalt me beyond proper bounds, as the Christians do Jesus, the son of Mary. I am merely one of the servants of God. Say, I am His servant, and His messenger;"¹ that is, only mention such excellencies and attributes as have been granted to me by God, which are involved in the word Rasúl (messenger); because, for mankind, no dignity is higher than that of an apostle; and all the other grades are lower. But notwithstanding his exaltation, he remains yet a human being, and considers it an honour to be reckoned among servants. He possesses none of the attributes of God, neither does he partake of His holy nature. Nay, such words ought not to be pronounced by a servant of God, because the Nasárás (Christians) proved themselves unbelievers and rebels, merely by giving such honours in writings to Jesus Christ. Hence, the Prophet has warned his followers: "Do not follow the

¹ Mishkát.

ways of the Nasárás, and do not praise thy Prophet beyond limits, lest thou, like them, be reckoned among the rebels." But, alas ! some of his unjust followers have not obeyed his order ; and have adopted the same course of praising as was followed by the Nasárás ; because, in respect of Jesus, the latter merely said, that God himself had appeared in his person, in disguise ; and that in one light He was a man, and in another, God. Similar praises have been also composed in honour of the Prophet, by some of his followers. For instance, one poet says : " In short, it was He who came down, and went back in every kirán,¹ as you have seen, till at last he made his appearance in the shape of an Arab, and became the holder of the world." Another says, thus : " Fate has seated on one camel, two mahmils (litters bearing loads), the Salma of thy possibility (the Prophet) and the Laili² of eternity (God) : until thy possibility and necessitous being were not written down, the creation of the world was not determined upon for the whole universe."

Nay, some of the false impostors go so far as to say, that the Prophet himself has said, " I am Ahmad without mí'm" (Ahad, or One). Hence, they have composed a long panegyric containing many absurdities, entitled "Khutba-ul-Iftikhár," or Oration of Praise, and give out that 'Ali was the author of it ; but, however, he is guiltless of such great accusation. May God blacken the faces of such gross liars !

The Nasárás say that all the affairs concerning both worlds are in the power of Christ : that one who follows and supplicates him, is exempted from all services to God : that he will receive no punishment for any sins : that he is beyond distinction of lawful and unlawful, and is actually called the "Sánd"³ of God ; and though he may do whatever he may like, he will be pardoned through the intercession of Jesus on the day of judgment. A similar belief is cherished by some of the ignorant Mussalmans towards his highness the Prophet. May God direct them to the right path !

Mutarriif-bin-Abd-ullah states, from his father : " I went along with the ambassadors of Beni-Amír, to the messenger of God. We said you are our Sardár (master), and he said in reply : ' God alone is the master.' Again we said, ' You are higher in dignity, in excellence and generosity.' His Highness said, ' You have still said much ; say

¹ A kirán is an age from 10 to 80 years ; and some say to 120 years.

² The proper name of a woman.

³ An animal set at liberty in accordance with a vow, when he receives a dispensation from all further labour.

less, so that you may not be made disrespectful by Satan ;''¹ the meaning is, that when you talk in praise of some pious man, be cautious how you use your tongue, so that you praise him in the manner which is due to a man; nay, even in this, say less, that you may escape being guilty of error, and avoid raving like a horse, lest you happen to show disrespect to God. Now it ought to be understood, that the title "Sardár" has a double meaning : one is, that the bearer may be a sole master, independent of all allegiance and having power to do whatever he likes, as an independent emperor on the earth. This is the attribute of God alone, and no one besides him is a Sardár. The other is, that he is a subject, but of a higher grade, and is the channel of communicating the orders of the true ruler to others, as a Chaudharí is in his tribe, or a Zamíndár in his village. In accordance with the last construction, each prophet is the Sardár of his followers, as well as Imám of the people of his time, a learned man of his dependents, and a Pír of his disciples, and a tutor of his pupils. These great men first strengthen themselves firmly in the way of God, and afterwards direct others in the same road. On this basis our Prophet is the Sardár of the whole world, because, near God, he is higher in dignity, and firmer in obeying His orders, than others ; and every one is in need of his aid to know the way of God. Hence, if we call him the Sardár of the whole world, it matters not : nay, it must so be believed. But with reference to the former construction, he has not the power to interfere, even with an ant.

'Aisha said : " I purchased a carpet which contained drawings : when the Prophet saw them from the door, he did not come in, and I observed displeasure perceptible on his countenance. I said : ' O Prophet of God, I repent to God and his messenger : what fault have I committed that you avoid coming in ? ' His Highness then asked, ' What is this carpet for ? ' I said, ' I have bought it for you to sit and rest upon.' Then the Messenger of God remarked : ' Verily, the makers of pictures will be punished on the day of resurrection, when God will desire them to bring them to life.' His Highness further added that, ' Verily, a house which contains pictures, is not visited by the angels.' "¹

Pictures are generally worshipped by the idolaters, and are therefore detested by the angels, as well as despised by the Prophet ; and the makers of them will be duly punished at the day of resurrection, because they are the cause of providing materials for idolatry. It is manifest that those ignorant people who keep the pictures of the

¹ Mishkát.

Prophet, imáms, saints and pírs, and pay them every respect and preserve them, from a belief of their auspicious influence, have gone much astray, and are deeply involved in the crime of Shirk. The Prophet and the angels are disgusted with them. It is, therefore, necessary to take the pictures out of good houses, as impure things, and then the Prophet will be pleased with you, and your house will be entered by the angels; and thus there will be blessings all over it. Ibn-Abbás related that the Prophet said: "Surely that person shall be punished most severely, who has killed a prophet, or has been killed by a prophet, or has murdered his parents, or who has made a picture, or a learned man who has derived no profit by his knowledge."¹ It will be seen in the foregoing, that a maker of pictures is also included among sinners guilty of capital crimes. Hence the crime of making pictures is very great, greater even than that of Yazíd and Shamar, who were not the murderers of the Prophet, but are guilty of equal iniquity. Abú-Huraira says, he heard the Prophet observe, that God said: "Who is more disrespectful than the person who attempts to make likenesses to the things created by myself? Let him create an atom or a grain of barley."¹ Verily, the maker of pictures actually pretends to the power of the deity. He is therefore highly disrespectful, and his pretensions are wrong, because he has not the power of creating even a grain of corn. He is merely a copyist.

Anas said that he heard the Prophet saying: "Do not exceed, in praising me, the dignity which has been conferred on me by God. I am the same Muhammad the son of Abd-ullah, the servant of God and his messenger."¹ The Prophet is not so indifferent about the welfare of his followers as are some earthly Sardárs, who are praised beyond bounds, because the latter have no interest whether the creed of the eulogists is corrupted or not, but the case is quite different with the Prophet, who is the great and kind patron of his followers. His attention was directed night and day solely in correcting their religion, knowing that his followers had a great affection for him, and felt very grateful; and it is customary when one praises a person, whom he loves, that, being anxious to please him, he generally exceeds the legal bounds, and hence does injustice to God, thereby annihilating his own creed, and becoming a bitter enemy of the Prophet himself. His Highness warned his followers not to praise him beyond proper limits, saying: "My name is merely Muhammad, and not God, Creator, or Sustainer; and like other men I was born of my parents; and to be the servant of God is my chief pride, but I have some distinction from

¹ Mishkát.

other people, having a knowledge of the ordinances of God, while others are ignorant thereof. The latter ought, therefore, to learn from me the religion of God." O God, convey our blessings and thousands of salutations to such a gracious and benevolent Prophet; and be pleased to appreciate duly, the boundless exertions which he made to teach the true religion to such ignorant people as ourselves. We are merely thy humble and helpless servants. As Thou hast taught us from thy own bounty, the true meaning of the terms Shirk, and Taubíd, as well as the intention of the expression "La-iláha illa'lláh" (There is no God but God), and having delivered us from among the idolaters, hast made us pure Mussalmans; in a similar way teach us by thine own grace, the meaning of the terms Bid'at or heresy, and Sunnat or the Law of the Prophet. Also explain to us fully the signification of the term, Muhammad-ur-rasul-Allah (or Muhammad is the Messenger of God), and separating us from the irreligious heretics, make us pure Sunnis and strictly submissive to the Sunnat or Law of the Prophet. O Lord of the worlds; all praises are justly due to Thee!

NOTES.

The "Usúl" or fundamental principles of the faith of the Shi'a sect are five: Firstly, to believe in the unity of God, without any association; Secondly, to admit that He is just; Thirdly, to believe in the divine mission of all the prophets, and that Muhammad is their own prophet; Fourthly, to consider Ali the direct successor of Muhammad in the Khálifat without intervention, and also to believe his descendants successively, from Hasan to Mahdí, the twelfth imám, to be his rightful successors; and to consider them in excellence, virtue, and distinction, beyond the reach of the followers of the Prophet. If any one is wanting in the five "fundamentals," he cannot be a true Shi'a. There is a saying of the Prophet, that there is no age without an imám. Hence the belief of the Shi'as is, that the last imám, Mahdí, is born and is alive, but hidden from sight. If any of that sect die without holding the belief of the existence of the imám he is considered faithless. It is evident from this, that they have the same faith in the twelve imáms, as in the Prophet; because as a man, by not having faith in the Prophet, cannot be a true believer, in the same manner he cannot be a true Shi'a without having a faith in the imáms.

It is essential that they should have faith in the latter as well as in Muhammad. Imám Ja'far was the eminent doctor of the Shí'a sect, and they follow his law. The superior excellence and spiritual perfection of the imáms bear, in the opinion of the Shí'as, an exact resemblance to the high attributes of the Prophet. Hence they are entitled Ma'súm or innocent imáms. It is said, that each of them was free from all sins, great or small, and was born perfectly pure and circumcised; and when in the state of being born, put the palm of his hand first on the earth. His mind was never asleep, and he could see behind, as well as in front. His body was odorous, and so was his excrement. No one had ever seen his urine or excrement. He used to discourse with the angels. Before an imám was born the advent of his birth was foretold by his father, who also pronounced that he was to be the future imám. One of the qualifications of an imám was, never to be wanting in giving a ready answer to a question:—nay, to know the nature of the query before it was asked. He was superior in virtues and good habits to all the rest of the people of his time, and was also exceedingly polite and humble in his manners. Whatever orders were issued by him for the guidance of his followers, he followed them himself most rigidly. He had been taught learning by no one, and his prayers were always acceptable to God. The Shí'as, the followers of the imáms, allege that Imám Mahdí was born in the Hijra era 255, and disappeared in Samra in 265, i.e., when he was hardly ten years old. He will make his reappearance in the reign of a Khálif, named Mu'atamid, when heresy and infidelity will be at their height.

The basis of the faith of the Sunnis is, to know God truly, to believe the books revealed by him, to trust in his messengers, and to expect the day of resurrection.

According to their belief, the four Khálifs are next in point of pre-eminence to the Prophet: viz., Abú-bakr, Omar, Osmán, and Ali, as well as the rest of the Ashara Mubashshira. These were ten of his most distinguished followers, including the Khálifs, to whom Muhammad announced their certain entrance into paradise:—these were, besides the Khálifs, Jalla, Zobair, Said-bin-Ali Wakas, Abd-ur-rahman-bin-Awf, Abu-Abridat-bin-Jarrah, and Said-bin-Zaid. Next are the people of the house of the Prophet. Before his demise he said: "Verily, I am about leaving two things with you, which if you ardently seize you will never stray after my death: one of them is greater than the other; one the book of God, which is like a long rope let down from the heavens to the earth; the other, the people of my house. And the book of God and the people of my house will never

be separate from me, till they shall come to me at the ford of leather. Then look to how you conduct yourself towards them after me."¹

The twelve imáms are considered by the Sunnis among the people of the house, and are esteemed and respected accordingly, but they do not give them preference to the khálifs as the Shí'as do. They also believe in the coming into the world of the twelfth imám, Mahdí, but have no belief as to his being still in existence. They say he will be born and be descended from Fatima, the favourite daughter of the Prophet.

There is another sect among the Muhammadans called Ishma'ília. They believe in the imáms down to Ja'far, and after him consider Isma'il (the founder of the sect) and his descendants who flourished towards Egypt, as imáms. They confound the Mahdí, the son of Isma'il, the son of Ja'far, who made his appearance in the west, with the Mahdí, the imám who is to come.

The Sunnis, or traditionists, are divided into four orthodox sects, viz., the Hanífites, the Málakites, the Sháfeites, and the Hanbalites, who are all Sunnis. The founders of the law are held in great veneration and respect by them as imáms and lawgivers. In Hindustan, the Muhammadans are of the sect of Hanífa.

The Chiefs of Lucknow and Moorshehabad, are of the Shí'a sect, while those of Hyderabad, the Carnatic, Bhopal, Tonk, Delhi, and Bhawalpore, are of the Sunni persuasion. The majority of the Muhammadans in India, are of the latter sect. The Isma'íliás predominate towards Bombay and Surat. The Bhuras are all of this sect. The commonalty of the Mussalmans, and especially the women, have more regard for the memory of Hasan and Husain, than for that of Muhammad and his khálifs. The heresy of making Ta'ziyas, on the anniversary of the two latter imáms, is most common throughout India, so much so, that opposition to it is ascribed by the ignorant Mussalmans to blasphemy. Their example is followed by many of the Hindus, especially the Mahrattas. The Muharram is celebrated, throughout the Dekhan and Malwa, with greater enthusiasm than in other parts of India. Grand preparations are made in every town, on the occasion, as if for a festival of rejoicing rather than of observing the rites of mourning, as they ought. The observance of this custom has so strong a hold on the mind of the commonalty of the Mussalmans, that they believe Muhammadanism to depend merely in keeping the memory of the imáms in the above manner. The preaching of Maulavi Isma'il has recovered many a Mussalman from this heresy.

¹ Mishkát.

Nawáb Vazír-ul-daula, the chief of Tonk, and one of the most rigid proselytes of the Saiyad, has prohibited the making of Ta'ziyas throughout his territory. Many of his subjects, however, are yet so much addicted to the old custom, that on the commencement of the Muharram, they undertake a journey to Bhopal in order to celebrate the anniversary of their favourite imáms. Many other prejudices and superstitions also prevail among the common people, as is, perhaps, the case, more or less everywhere, and in every nation: several of them they have borrowed from their neighbours the Hindus, and some they have created out of their own ignorance. The majority of the Mussalmans in the Dekhan are yet only half-converts to Islam. They yet have the Hindu idols in their houses, and worship them as other idolaters do. There are many other sects in India, such as the Chishtías, Kádírías, Madírías, Kalandars, Nakshabandías, Zaidías and eight others, altogether fourteen in number, named after their respective founders. They have numerous peculiar dástáns and innovations, differing from the Shar'a or Law, to detail which would require volumes. Suffice it to say, that, comparatively, there are very few Muham-madans in this country who can be called true believers, conscientiously following the law delivered by the Prophet Muhammad.¹

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¹ Experience teaches that the want of true observance of this law is generally prevalent everywhere, in Egypt, Turkey, Persia, &c.

[The 'Amw'l-fil, or "Year of the Elephant," referred to in the following statement, dates from the year 571 A.D. The incident which gave rise to it, was an attack made upon Mecca by Abíahá-Ibn'ál-Sabáh, an Ethiopian Christian, then viceroy or governor of Yemen. This chief, riding on an elephant, led his army against the sacred city, which was saved by a miraculous interposition of Providence, as celebrated in the 105th Súra of the Korán, entitled *Al fil*.—Ed.]

STATEMENT SHOWING THE DATES OF BIRTH AND DEMISE OF THE TWELVE IMAMS IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING MUHAMMAD.

Names.	Date of Birth.	Where born.	Death.	Where Buried.	Age.	Names of Mothers.	Number of Children.	
							Sons.	Daughters.
Muhammad, son of 'Abd-ullah, son of 'Abd-ul-Muttalib, son of Hashim, son of 'Abd-ul-Manaf	...	Meccá	12 Rabi-ul-awal, 11 A.H.	Mediná, in the room of 'Aishá	63	'Ámina, daughter of Wáhab	3 or 4	4
Abú-bakr, son of Abú-Kubáfa Osmán, son of 'Amir	2 years after 'Amu'l-fil	Ditto	23 Jamadi-ul-ákhir, 13 A.H.	Mediná, close to the tomb of the Prophet	63	Umm-ul-Khair, bint Sakhr, bint Amir.	3	3
Omar-ibn-al-Khattáb	1 Muharram, 13 'Amu'l-fil	Ditto	1 Muharram, 23 A.H.	Mediná, close to the above	63	Hautmá, daughter of Hashim, son of Mufáira, son of 'Abd-ullah.	9	4
Osmán, son of Affán	6th 'Amu'l-fil	Ditto	Between 16 and 18 Zil-hijja, 39 A.H.	Jannat-al-Baki-yáh	82	Arwai, daughter of Koraiz, son of Rabiá, son of Habib, son of Abd-us-shams.	9	7
I. 'Ali, son of Abú Tálib ibn 'Abd-ul-Manaf	30 from 'Amu'l-fil	Ditto	17 Ramzan, 60 A.H.	Kúfa; the tomb was concealed, from fear of being despised by the Khárijis.	63	Fátima, daughter of Asad, son of Hashim, son of Manaf.	16 or 17	16
Fátima	35 'Amu'l-fil	Ditto	11 A.H.	Mediná, Jannat-al-baki.	28	Khadíja, 1st wife of the Prophet.	3	3
II. Hasan, son of 'Ali	15 Ramzan, 3 A.H.	Mediná	1 or 5 of Rabi-ul-awal, 49 or 50 A.H.	Ditto	47	Fátima	15; the descendants of 5 still exist.	8
III. Husain, son of 'Ali	5th Shaban, 4 A.H.	Ditto	10 Muharram, 61 A.H.	Karbala	56 years, 5 months, & 5 days	Ditto	6; the posterity of Zain-al-'Abidin only is remaining.	3

STATEMENT SHEWING THE DATES OF BIRTH AND DEMISE OF THE TWELVE IMAMS IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING MUHAMMAD.—Continued.

Names.	Date of Birth.	Where Born.	Death.	Where Buried.	Age.	Names of Mothers.	Number of Children.	
							Sons.	Daughters.
I V. Zain-ul-'Abidin, son of Hussein	9th Shabán, 38 A.H.	...	18 Muharram, 94 A.H.	Jannat-al-Bakí, by the side of Hasan	57 or 58	Shahrband, or Suláfa, daughter of Yazdejird, great grandson of Noshirwán.	11	3 or 4
V. Abu Ja'far, son of 'Ali, son of Hussein	3 Safar, 57 A.H.	...	117 or 118 A.H.	Medína, in Jan- nat-ul-Bakí	58 or 63	Umm Abd-ullah, daughter of Hasan	6; the poste- rity of Amán Ja'- far only remains. 6	3
VI. Ja'far Sádik	18 Rabi-ul-awal, 80 or 83 A.H.	...	15 Rajab, 148 A.H.	Medína, in the grave of Hasan.	68	Umm Farwa, daughter of Kasim	1	1
VII. Músa Kázim	128 A.H.	In a village be- tween Mecca and Medina	5 Rajab, 183 A.H.	Medína, in the Cemetery of Koreish.	54 or 55	Daughter of Hamida	37; the poste- rity of 14 sons exist 5	22
VIII. 'Ali-ar-Riza (Rida), son of Músa Kázim	11 Rabi-ul-awal, 53 A.H.	Medina	21 Ramzán, 203 or 208 A.H.	Baghdád, in the tomb of Hárún- ar-Rashid.	49 years, 6 months	Daughter of Naknam	1	1
IX. Abú Ja'far Muham- mad, son of 'Ali, son of Músa Kázim	10 Rajab, 195 A.H.	Ditto	220 A. H.	Baghdád, behind the tomb of Músa.	25	Daughter of Khaizán	2	2
X. Abú-'l-Hasan 'Ali, son of Muhammad, son of 'Ali, son of Músa Kázim	13 Rajab, 216 A.H.	Ditto	Jamád-ul-ákhir, 254 A.H.	Samrá, also called Sarr-mann-rá'	40	Daughter of Samana	4	1
XI. Abú Muhammad Ha- san, son of 'Ali, son of Muhammad, son of 'Ali Riza	232 A.H.	Ditto	Rabi-ul awal, 260 A.H.	Ditto	28	Daughter of Sosu	1	...
XII. Mahdí	15th Shabán, 255 A.H.	Ditto	Disappeared, 265 A.H.	Disappeared in Samrá, as is the belief of the Shias	...	Daughter of Narjis	...	...

ART. XV.—*Notes Introductory to Sassanian Mint Monograms and Gems. With a Supplementary Notice on the Arabico-Pehlvi Series of Persian Coins.* By EDWARD THOMAS, Esq., Bengal Civil Service.

IN June, 1839, I submitted to our Society a brief paper on the subject of the Pehlvi Legends occurring on the medals of the early Moham-medan conquerors of Persia. As the memoir in question was avowedly left incomplete, consequent upon my return to my duties in India, I have since uniformly cherished the hope of being able, at some future period, to remedy the defects and supply the deficiencies of my first essay. In this view, on my arrival in this country a few months since, I commenced collecting new materials, and rigidly examining my previous inferences and conclusions, trusting that I might eventually succeed in compiling a treatise more worthy of the pages of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, than that which our Council had already complimented me by printing.

I, however, again find myself necessitated to bring my studies to a hasty conclusion, and for a similar reason, an event which I did not contemplate when I entered upon the present scheme of revision. Up to this moment I may say that I have done little or nothing towards advancing the inquiry, beyond accumulating fresh examples of the monograms representing the different mint cities of the Sassanian empire, and acquiring some few further illustrative specimens of the local currency of the Arabs in Persia prior to A.H. 76.

In pursuing the general palæographic question, I have latterly entered more fully upon the subordinate branch, embracing the contemporaneous system of writing in use on gems, seals, &c. Of these relics I have met with a considerable number of specimens, some of which contribute so much of novelty and variety in their leading devices and associate legends, that I have thought it advisable to append to the numismatic details which form the more prominent object of this note, a concise letterpress description of the former—aided by engravings of the more remarkable designs—together with written facsimiles of the latter, transferred by the anastatic process to the zinc plate, reproduced as pl. II.

I had originally some hesitation in coming before the public with the half-developed results of an intricate inquiry. I have now no

apology to offer; for I profess only to place before those who would interest themselves in the pursuit, a certain amount of unpublished materials I had collected for my own use, but which circumstances make it impossible for me to take immediate advantage of. At the same time I feel that the juncture is peculiarly auspicious for the contribution of any data that will aid in the elucidation of the capital question of the ancient philology of Central Asia, which is now attracting such deep attention in the learned world. And especially with reference to the doubts which are being raised as to the authenticity of the Zoroastrian languages, I would point to the significant fact implied in the extensively prevailing use of the Pehlvi character, as *primâ facie* evidence of the existence and currency of the language itself, or of its mere dialectic modifications.

I would cite the universality of its influence throughout nearly the entire Persian empire; its employment as the vehicle of expression for the monumental records of the kings; its uniform official currency in the numerous mints of the Sassanian empire, and the geographical definition of its boundaries from the Tigris and the Persian Gulf on the S.W., to Merv and Zabulistan on the N.E., as manifested by the legends on the Arab coins issued within or near those limits.

But beyond this I would now exhibit its acceptance in the affairs of private life, as exemplified by the prevalence of its literal forms on the signets and seals of every-day use. And I would claim this much of deduction from the facts available, that whatever other forms of speech may have existed in the land, whatever of more perfect systems of writing may have been known or employed, it is clear that the seventeen letters of the Pehlvi alphabet sufficed to express all that either official routine or ordinary business transactions required.



From our inscriptions and coins we can fix with precision the date of the currency of this style of writing, and unhesitatingly claim its dominance in Persia from A.D. 223 to A.H. 76. Our new authorities, the gems, do not of themselves similarly define their own epoch; but we may hope, by testing the forms of the alphabet, and observing closely other significant indications, to fix approximately their place in history.

However, beyond their Palæographic value, those incidental records of past civilization possess a merit peculiarly their own, as the unprepared contributions of scattered individuals, which were neither designed by their original owners to meet the eye of the general public of contemporaneous existence, nor the inquisition of inquiring posterity,—standing in this respect in strong contrast to the more

public memorials exhibited by the current money, or the imperial self-laudation of the inscriptions,—here, each specimen represents the offering of a separate unit of the national family, his favourite emblem typified in his chosen device, his name, title, hope, or creed, exemplified in the legend which encircles his adopted symbol. As the signet of the king in its degree, these seals were equally of import in the estimation of those subordinate members of the Eastern race, in whose social code their stamp implied so much. Our collection, then, under one view of the seals and signets of men separated possibly by distance of time and place—united for us simply by one bond—the use of the same language—cannot fail to present us with ample matter for reflection.

I forbear to enlarge upon the subject in its present crude state, and in conclusion of these few introductory words, I would repeat, once for all, that in the present paper I put forth no matured solutions. I pretend to no enunciation of theories, though I offer problems without number to those who would seek to exercise their ingenuity in this department of Oriental archæology. But if perchance I write an introduction approaching to anything like a demonstration, it is upon the necessity of the case, that I would in all honesty communicate all I have learnt to those who may use it better.

ALPHABETS.

I have but few remarks to add to my former observations regarding the Pehlvi Alphabets, except, indeed, to admit the probability of the letter  being, what Mr. Norris from the first asserted it to be, a long. *ی*. My former objections to accepting this identification were chiefly founded on the fact that among the three vowels, which were all that the ancient Pehlvi could boast of, that alphabet already possessed a clearly-defined *ی* []; and that in the manifest paucity of vowel-signs, so imperfect a literal series would be unlikely to elaborate the nice distinction implied in the use of a second or long vowel *ی*. The Persian Cuneiform possessed but one alphabetical *ی*; and the orthographical systems of the neighbouring Semitic languages were alike deficient in any distinguishing power whereby to express in writing the modified sounds of this vowel. I, however, observe that when the Parsi dialect came to be embodied in the more copious

Zend alphabet, full use was made of the two vowels 𐬵 = ī, and 𐬶 = ē; besides the irregular employment 𐬭 = ē, 𐬮 = è, and 𐬯 = ê.¹ Moreover, singular to say, the long ī, as fashioned in the Zend type cut in Germany, exactly realizes the original outline of our debateable lapidary character.

Accepting, then, this letter as an (𐬵) *I long*, let us for a moment examine how it will read in the well-defined words of the Sassanian-Pehlvi Inscriptions we are able to select for trial. De Sacy's much-discussed word 𐬵𐬶𐬭, which he interpreted as *Roman*, will, under these terms, express in modern Persian the combination 𐬵𐬶𐬭. This rendering is so far fully borne out by the corresponding word in the collateral Tablet of the Chaldæo-Pehlvi, which proves to be literally identical, or 𐬵𐬶𐬭, *the son of* (𐬵𐬶 *Chald. filius*).

The letter in question is of pretty frequent occurrence in the Bilingual Hájí-ábád Inscription; but in the Trilingual Records at Naksh-i-Rustam, Naksh-i-Rajab, and in the Sassanian tablets at Táki-Bostán, it appears but rarely; generally only in the above-quoted word, and as the third letter of the word 𐬵𐬶𐬭, 𐬵𐬶𐬭 (?) in the opening passage in each legend.²

The character is not found on Sassanian medals, but it is employed, singularly enough, on the coins of the sub-Kings of Persia of the Arsacidan period, and is associated in the same term 𐬵𐬶𐬭 with its fellow Sassanian form of the letter 𐬵 B, in the presence of the


¹ The 𐬵𐬶𐬭 being represented by 𐬵𐬶, and the 𐬵𐬶𐬭 being expressed by 𐬵𐬶. See Spiegel's *Grammatik der Pársisprache*. Leipzig, 1851.

² The majority of these Inscriptions commence thus—

𐬵𐬶𐬭 𐬵𐬶𐬭 𐬵𐬶𐬭

which is translated in the Greek ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΩΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ; or, in other cases, ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΩΝ.—See De Sacy's *Mem. sur div. Ant. de la Perse*; Ker Porter; Rich's *Babylon*, &c. I may add, that the third letter in the Hájí-ábád plaster cast is decidedly a 𐬵.

M. Louis Dubeux reads this 𐬵𐬶𐬭.—See *Journal Asiatique*, 1841, p. 650.

undoubted Chaldæo-Pehlvi characters which compose the remainder of the coin-legend; so that the word would seem to have been borrowed in all its integrity of literal outline, and incorporated with the foreign letters of the inscription in the sister alphabet. The figure  is to be seen at times on the Sassanian gems, though it occurs as an exceptional case rather than as a letter of frequent requirement.

Another palæographic difficulty that is still incompletely explained is the origin and progress of the several interchanges of the associate letters R and L. The two extremities of the chain of evidence which extends over the 409 years of the Sassanian domination in Persia, present us with a combination of contrasts. In the one case of the Numismatic Alphabetical signs, the joint symbol, which, in the commencement, served to express both R and L, is, in process of time, entirely got rid of, and a totally different character is assigned to this double duty. In the second case of the contemporaneous Lapidary Alphabet, we start in the possession of two independent letters, representing the different phonetic powers of R and L. After the lapse of a little more than a century and a half, the evidence of inscriptions fails us; but, singular to say, a lapidary character is adopted into the numismatic literal series, and becomes in time the sole repository of the two sounds, one only of which it was originally competent to emblemize.

I am not prepared to theorise upon the causes of these changes; but as the early Sassanian coins, which I have lately examined in detail for other objects, contribute several new items illustrative of the gradual transfers, I propose to sum up in one brief view all the data that bear upon the question.

No. 1.—Naksh-i-Rustam.

2 = 𐭪 *Chald.*, in *Artahshatr*, *Arián*, *Minúchatrí*, *Bari*, &c.

𐭪 = 𐭪 *Chald.*, in *Malaká*.

No. 2.—Naksh-i-Rajab.

2 = 𐭪 *Chald.*, and P *Greek*, in *Shahpúhari*, *Artahshatr*, *Arián*;
and 𐭪 *Chald. only*, in *Bari*, *Minúchatrí*.

𐭪 = 𐭪 *Chald.*, in *Malaká*.

No. 3.—Háji-ábád.

2 = 𐭪
𐭪 = 𐭪 } *Chald.*, as in No. 2.

No. 4.—Kirmánsháh.

2 = R in Shahpúhur, Narsehí, Aúharmazdí, Barí.

2 = L in Maŕká.

2 = R(?) in Aírán, Minuchatri.¹

Next in order, let us trace the use of these letters on the Imperial Sassanian coins.

At the commencement of the series a character shaped like the lapidary 2 did duty for both R and L.² The first clearly-defined 2³ that we meet with, occurs on the reverse of a coin of Varahrán II. (277, 294 A.D.),⁴ but the obverse legend uses the 2 throughout, in accordance with previous custom; and the money of succeeding monarchs equally adheres to the standard numismatic form of this symbol of many sounds.

The next appearance of the 2 is on a most interesting medal of Hormuzdas II.⁶ (303—310 A.D.), lately brought to this country by

¹ De Sacy, *Mem. sur div. Ant.*; Ker Porter, *Travels*; Malcolm's *Persia*; Boré, *Jour. Asiat.* XI.; Dubeux, ditto, 1843; Rich's *Babylon*, &c.

² And also for 3, &c.; but I keep these out of sight to simplify the main argument.

³ Having given introductory facsimiles, I shall now use the type Pehlvi 2 for L, and 2 for R.

⁴ See note to mint No. 24.

⁵ For facility of reference, I annex a list of the Sassanian monarchs—

	A.D.		
1. Ardeshr Bábigan	226	17. Fíróz	458
2. Shapúr I.	240	18. Vologeses	484
3. Hormuzdas I.	273	19. Kobád	488
4. Varahrán I.	274	20. Jamasp	498
5. „ II.	277	— Kobád (again)	502
6. „ III. (<i>Segán Sháh</i>)	294	21. Khusrú I. (<i>Noshírwán</i>)	531
7. Narses	294	22. Hormuzdas IV.	579
8. Hormuzdas II.	303	23. Varahrán VI.	590
9. Shapúr II. (<i>Zu'lakuf</i>)	310	24. Khusrú II. (<i>Parvíz</i>)	591
10. Ardeshr	381	25. S. roes	628
11. Shapúr III.	385	26. Ardeshr	
12. Varahrán IV. (<i>Kermán Sháh</i>)	390	27. Purán-dokht	
13. Yezdegird I.	404	29. Azermi-dokht	
14. Varahrán V. (<i>Gour</i>)	420	30. Kesra	
15. Yezdegird II.	448	31. Ferokhzád	
16. Hormuzdas III.	458	32. Yezdegird III.	killed in 651

Colonel Rawlinson, and now in the British Museum.¹ Here we see the 2 = R in Aúharmazdi, in company with the 𐬨 = L in Małká, and the article L in la Bákúshán, while on other types of coins bearing nearly similar legends we may remark the 2 in the king's name exchanged for a clearly-defined 𐬨.

We have nothing very decisive to note between this epoch and the reign of Varahrán IV. (390—404 A.D.), when the 𐬨 has obviously become both R and L, as is proved by its indiscriminate use in Varahrán, Małka, Ker[mán].

Under Firoz its value as R is amply manifested in the name of Firoz and the date Arba; and its double value is again displayed in the Aramaic numerals on Khusrú I.'s coins in 𐬎𐬌 trín, and 𐬎𐬌𐬎 tołta, and the Persian 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎 = چهارچهل; so also as R in 𐬎𐬌𐬎 Asra, and 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎 Aubarmazí, on the coins of the king, fourth of that name. And, to conclude the joint history, under the Arabs the two consonants possess but the one modified alphabetical sign 𐬎, which may be said to have come down to us in its almost integrity of outline.

I am desirous of noticing briefly a modification the letter 𐬎 = 𐬎 undergoes in becoming final. I need scarcely trace the process upwards through the 𐬎 Persian, — final of modern Pehlvi, the isolated 𐬎 of the Arab coins (Nos. I., II., III., and IV., Pl. I.), all

Gold. Weight, gr.

- Obv. King's bust, facing to the right; the head is covered with a skin of a lion, after the manner of Alexander the Great's coin portraits; and the whole is surmounted by what may possibly be intended for flames of fire, below which again, appear the Sassanian fillets.

Legend.

𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎
𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎

Rev. Fire-altar, with ministering Mobeds.

Legend.

𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎

Above the flame of the altar.

𐬎𐬌𐬎 | 𐬎𐬌𐬎

of which are distinguished from the initial or medial form of the letter in their respective series.

The contrast is not so uniformly marked in the ancient Pehlvi, but we have ample evidence to show that the system was fully recognised, and extensively taken advantage of; indeed, it may be said that one of the great imperfections of the early Semitic schemes of writing, in which the Pehlvi participates, was the inability to mark the division of words, the necessity of which is shown by the methods subsequently adopted to attain this end, by means of discriminating forms of the same character. The Pehlvi itself seems indirectly to have effected this object, but to a limited extent, by supplementing one of its own letters; which, however satisfactory to the practised eyes of those who familiarly employed the language, offers a very serious obstruction to the progress of modern students.

The indication of the final **ج**, as I have observed it, consists merely in what might be called a forward movement in writing *over* the fixed line of characters; whereas, the **ج** initial and medial was formed by a semicircular stroke downwards in the ordinary run of the onward course of the other letters. This is unquestionably the case in the most reliable monument we have to quote from—the plaster cast of the Hájí-ábád Sassanian Pehlvi, for which we are indebted to Sir E. Stannus, wherein the words are intentionally separated,¹ so that the final declares itself in each instance without reference to any modern reading or interpretation. On the gems a similar system is adhered to, though not in such obvious uniformity; but I may quote a seemingly striking example in the opening word of No. 19.

In the Coin Alphabets, again, we are altogether thrown out of consecutive reasoning by the discrepancy of the early numismatic writing; but in the very commencement, strange to say, some of the final **ج**'s partake of the outline of modern days²; while others exemplify the over-hand style we are now remarking upon.³ Again, when lapidary letters begin to appear on the coinage of the country, we once more recognise the influence of the system, which continues with more or less absolutism, and always liable to provincial variations, until after the reign of Fíróz, subsequent to which we merge easily into the modern practice.

¹ As examples, I cite the finals in Shahpuhurí, Bagí, Pápekí; the initials and medials in Mazdásn, Iran, &c.

² Coins of Ardeshr. Longpérier, I. 3. Rev. in **سپهر**.

³ Ibid. I. 2.

As the comparative alphabet of this Pehlvi fount has been inserted in a different volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society to that in which the present paper is about to appear, I reprint the entire list of characters, for facility of reference; taking the opportunity of amending any errors or omissions discovered since the first impression.

MODERN PEHLVI.

1	ا	د	A	12	ك	و	K
2	ب	ر	B	13	گ	ق	G
3	ت	م	T	14	ل	ط	L
4	ج	و	J	15	م	ف	M
5	خ	ند or سم	KH	16	ن	ا	N
6	د	ؤ	D	17	و	ا	W
7	ر	ل	R	18	ه	د	H
8	ز	ك	Z	19	ي	ي	Y
9	س	د or و	S	20	چ	ع	CH
10	ش	و	SH	21	پ	و	P
11	غ	ع	GH	22	اي	د	AI

COMMUTABLE SOUNDS IN MODERN PERSIAN.

1	ا	ه	ح	خ	ع	{A, H, H, KII, Ain	9	ك	و	K
2	ب	ر				B	10	م	ف	M
3	ذ	ث	ت			T, TH, Z	11	و or ن	ا	N or W
4	ل	ر				R or L	12	د, ي, گ, or ج	و	'when pointed, answers to
5	ز	ن				Z	13	ص, ز, and ج	ع	CH, convertible as
6	س	د				S	14	ف, P or F	و	P or F
7	ش	و				SH				
8	غ	ع				GH				

COMPOUNDS.

1	ا	د	5	يم	9	ن	د
2	اپ and اچ	و	6	ان	10	ات	د
3	رچ	و	7	بين	11	يت	د
4	ام	د	8	من	12	رت	د

NUMERALS.

The table of numbers, given at p. 276, (vol. XII.) of my previous paper, has been tested and verified as far as the means within my reach have admitted. The readings of the Aramaic unit numbers are fully confirmed, as are those of the various Persian numbers already quoted. I have, however, some variants to notice.

The unit prefixes to the tens, twenties, &c., are pretty constant in the following:—

ܕܝܠ	=	ياز	=	1
ܕܝܠܝܢ	=	دواز	=	2
ܕܝܠܝܢܝܢ	=	سیز	=	3
ܕܝܠܝܢܝܢܝܢ	=	چهار	}	4
ܕܝܠܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢ	=	چهار		
ܕܝܠܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢ	=	پنج	=	5
ܕܝܠܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢ	=	هفت	=	7
ܕܝܠܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢ	=	هشت	=	8

But these are all liable to abbreviation, by the rejection of one or more of their concluding letters, in their conjunction with the decimal term. So that we have

ܕܝܠܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢ	=	ی هشتات	=	81
ܕܝܠܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢ	=	دو پنجاه	=	52
ܕܝܠܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢ	=	س هفتات	=	73
We have also an Eastern provincial variant in the form of				
ܕܝܠܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢ	=	ثلث شست	=	63
ܕܝܠܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢ	=	چ شست	=	64
ܕܝܠܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢ	=	پن چهل	=	45
ܕܝܠܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢ	=	هفده	=	17
ܕܝܠܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢ	=	هشده	=	18

The number *sixteen* I find expressed by $\text{شزده} = \text{شزده}$, as well as by $\text{شازده} = \text{شازده}$. This so far differs from the Sassanian

$$\text{ششویست} = 26$$

$$\text{ششسیه} = 36$$

and the uniform شش prefix, under Arab treatment.

The unit *nine*, in combination, presents itself under many forms, varying from $\text{نوه} = 11$, $\text{نو} = 11$, $\text{نه} = 11$, $\text{نوز} = 11$ to the $\text{ناو} = 11$ of the later Arab governors.

I have already remarked that it was the occasional practice to introduce a $\text{و} = 1$ to connect the unit and the decimal, as $\text{چهارده} = 14$.

The abbreviation of the entire date is again often effected by the omission of the commencement of the word expressing the decimal number. This should not, under ordinary circumstances, create much difficulty; but the combinations at times are sufficiently perplexing, when the introductory unit happens to be imperfectly defined.

SASSANIAN MINTS.

In introducing the following list of the Sassanian mint-monograms, which in effect amounts to little more than a bare alphabetical enumeration of their component letters, I have a few remarks to offer in further explanation of the limited results I have confined myself to.

I have elsewhere stated some of the obstacles attending any endeavour satisfactorily to appropriate these mint-marks, and effectively to solve the enigma presented in the abbreviation of the full name into the syllable which formed its commencement; but it would seem as if the deeper we advanced in the study, the less assured we felt of our most elaborate demonstrations.

We have in effect to combat step by step the difficulties inherent in an unascertained nomenclature; an indeterminate and often inter-

changeable orthography; the imperfection of the alphabet employed; and, lastly, the abbreviation, which adds so materially to the existing incertitude in leaving the given letters applicable to many different places whose names had an initial sound in common.

I am aware that I might have suggested many identifications that might have borne the light, and stood the test of present criticism, merely because there was nothing to be said against them; but I should myself be but little satisfied with this mere conjectural appropriation; and therefore prefer putting forth my materials almost uncommented upon, rather than waste time—where I had nothing more to show—in the mere mechanical process of assigning to each monogram parallel initial letters from the geographical lists of Oriental authors.

An examination of the series of the coins of the Sassanian dynasty, shows us that the kings of that race did not commence to distinguish their local coinages by the inscription of the names of the different mints, until the reign of Hormuzdas II. (303-310 A.D.)

At this time, the practice seems to have been but partially followed; and it is only with Varahrán IV. (390-404 A.D.) that the custom became general, and, with his successor Yezdegird I., fell into the routine, subsequently followed throughout in the kingdom up to the date of the Arab supercession of the fire-worship coinage, in A.H. 76.

With the last-named monarch only, did these records settle themselves into the particular position on the coin, to the right of the device, which subsequently became their recognised receptacle. For some time after the establishment of this modification, the corresponding space to the extreme left of the field continued to be appropriated generally to the repetition of the name of the king; and it is only with Fíróz that a new improvement is introduced by assigning this corner to the exhibition of the date of the year of issue. As these dates, however, have reference merely to the year of the reign of the monarch on whose money they are impressed, they but little advantage the historian, though they offer us certain minor points of interest, which I need not here enlarge upon.

GEOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES.—PEHLVI MINTS.

No. 1. $\text{𐭠𐭣} = \text{𐭠𐭣}$ *Unique*.—This mint-mark¹ occurs on a single coin, similar to that figured as No. 4, Pl. IX. in M. de Longperier's "Essai sur les Médailles des Rois Perses."²

¹ In order to avoid repetition in future references, I cite in full in this place the editions of the various geographical works I am likely to quote in the course of my examination of the Sassanian mints.

1. Liber Climatum, auctore Scheicho Abu-Ishako el-Faresi, vulgo El-Isstachri. *Facsimile Arabic text*. J. H. Moeller. Gothæ, 1839.

2. Géographie d'Edrisi, par P. Amédée Jaubert. Paris, 1836.

3. YAKUTI'S Lexicon Geographicum, cui titulus est مراصد الاطلاع , e duobus Codicibus MSS. Arabice editum. Ed. T. G. J. Juynboll, Lugduni Batavorum. 1852. (In course of publication).

4. EL-CAZWINI'S *Kosmographie* $\text{كتاب عجائب المخلوقات}$. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld. Göttingen, 1847-9.

5. Géographie d'Aboulféda. Texte Arabe. Par MM. Reinaud et De Slane. Paris, 1840.

² I am not disposed to concur in M. de L.'s assignment of this medal to Feroz. I dissent both on simple numismatic typical grounds, and on the still more decisive argument of interpretation of legends. The former question need not detain us here; but as regards the latter, I may observe that the supposed name on the reverse is not susceptible, even from the specimen described, of transcription as Feroz: it might possibly be made into ملوك or تروك ; but these would be scarcely satisfactory readings.

We have four specimens of this type of coin in the British Museum: the obverse trilateral legend is seemingly uniform in all, and may be represented in modern character by 𐭠𐭣 . The Reverses are as follows—

A 𐭠𐭣 = 2.
Mint No. 40.

B 𐭠𐭣 = 3.
Mint No. 1.

C 𐭠𐭣 = ?
Mint No. 8.

D 𐭠𐭣 = 𐭠𐭣
Mint No. 10.

The two latter examples probably give the correct orthography of the Paris medal, though the outline given in the Plate might answer for 𐭠𐭣 . I myself should be disposed to render the doubtful word as

$\text{𐭠𐭣} = \text{عشرة} \text{ for } \text{اسري} = 10;$

but that I am aware I have no justification for taking any such liberty with my materials, as in this case the French engraving, and what remains of the penultimate letter on the third specimen now quoted, equally confirm the value of that character as 𐭠 .

No. 2. $\text{سب} = \text{س}$, possibly $\text{سب} = \text{س}$. *Common.*

No. 3. $\text{اقر} = \text{اقر}$, &c.—I have met with only two examples of this monogram: one is to be found on a coin of 'Hormuzdas IV., in the possession of N. Bland, Esq.; the other on a Khusrú II., dated An 4, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. See Arab Mints p, q, r, *infra*.

No. 4. $\text{ات} = \text{ات}$ or اث .—I distinguish this monogram from the $\text{ست} = \text{ست}$ of No. 27, in virtue of the two very clear examples I have transcribed in the plate. They occur, the one on a coin of Firoz, in Mr. Bland's cabinet; the other on a coin of Kobád, in the same collection; and they offer the sole instances I am able to quote of these letters being found inscribed in the space on the reverse, at this period uniformly assigned to mint records. The combined letters appear constantly on the earlier coins of Varahrán IV. and Yezdegird I., as abbreviation of the word سارود ,¹ which itself, as well as its trilateral representative سار and still more curtailed form س , frequently occupies a place to the left of the area, subsequently formally appropriated to the reception of the name of the mint city.

There are, however, decided objections to admitting that the word سارود itself was used on these occasions to indicate any site of coinage, as it takes the place held by the word $\text{نورانی} = \text{نورانی}$ [Ar. ناوس Per. ناوس],² on the earliest fire-worship coins, and replaces the word $\text{راستی} = \text{راستی}$ in the same position, above the altar, on that type of Varahrán IVth coins which revert to the original reverse design of Ardeshir Bábek's medals,⁴ where the fire-altar stands alone, unsupported by the usual ministering Mobeds. Add to this, on the common coins of Yezdegird II. *Aturi* is inscribed on the extreme left of the reverse, behind the figure of the

¹ آذر or آذر *Firc.*

² ناوس آتشکده باشد Ferhang-i-Jehangiri,

³ Mordtmann wishes to read this word as روستاق (p. 88.)

⁴ Longpérier, Plates I. and II. Mordtmann, *loco cit.* p. 88.

Mobed, in the space hitherto invariably devoted to the exhibition of the name of the king; here again it alternates with the term **یزدکرت** = **یژدکرت** (نڊڊ) or **اوود** (نڊڊ), and the proper name **پژدولم**; while the peculiar mint space in the two former instances encloses the letters **س**, or the mint-mark numbered 8 in the Plate. And, lastly, on the ordinary coins of Varabrán IV., where the abbreviations **س** or **س** are placed to the right of the altar and of the supporting figure; or as the legends *read* in the last line, on the reverse, we find the mint monograms **س** No. 5,² and **س** No. 32, inserted in other parts of the field.

No. 5. **س** = **اس**.

No. 6. **س** = **اغ**.—This monogram is unique on a coin of Hormuzdas IV., dated Ann. 12. If the single specimen has given us the correct form of the concluding character, we have here the solitary instance yet discovered of the use of the letter **س** = **غ** in the old Pehlvi of coins, gems, or inscriptions.

No. 7. **س** = **ام**.—This example also stands alone, and has been met with only on a coin of Khusrú I., Ann 37, of the Masson collection.

No. 8. **س** = **او**.—I discriminate this mint from that classed under No. 9, with which it might possibly be associated as an abbreviation, because I have, on the one part, undoubted evidence of the value of the initial as a Sassanian **س** = **N**, **ا**, as it occurs under its normal form in the mint monogram on coins of Yezdegird II., in the presence of several Pehlvi **س**'s = **ن**, **ا**, which exhibit the usual distinguishing outline of that character, in other parts of the legends on the same piece. On the other hand, I have corresponding data to prove that the initial in No. 9 is an **س** = **ن**, **ا**, in opposition to **س** = **N**, **ا**; as may be seen from the facsimile of this mint-mark engraved in Pl. II. fig. 16, Vol. XII. J. R. A. S.

¹ Wilson, *Ar. Ant.*, Pl. xiv. 15.

² Longpérier, *Pl. VIII.* fig. I.

I observe on one of Yezdegird the First's coins, in the East India House Museum, an example of the mint-mark 𐭮 , with the additional letter $\text{𐭮} = \text{𐭮}$, which succeeds the 𐭮 in a consecutive line to, the left of the flame on the altar. The third facsimile, figured under No. 8, had already led me to expect to discover a more complete expression of the name than was afforded by the first or second outlines given under the same heading; and now, rejecting the reading afforded by the imperfectly-preserved final of the first-named monogram, I am prepared to adopt the transcription of the three characters as $\text{𐭮𐭮𐭮} = \text{𐭮𐭮𐭮}$ —the exact orthography of the commencement of the frequent royal name of Hormuzdas $\text{𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮} = \text{𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮}$, and the representative, we may suppose, of some of the towns re-edified by, and named after, their kingly patron.

No. 9. 𐭮𐭮 — 𐭮𐭮 . From the very first inquiry on the subject, I was inclined to identify this mint monogram as *the mark* of the capital of Khuzistan. At the time of the publication of my first Essay on Pehlvi Coins, I had but little evidence to offer in support of my theory; and being anxious to avoid needless conjecture, I omitted all hint of the possible appropriation of the name. I am now in a better position to illustrate the question, and still more confirmed in my first impression. To state the case broadly, I now read 𐭮𐭮 as 𐭮𐭮 , Arabic Hōth, Persian Hōs, for 𐭮𐭮 , *hodiè* خوز, the capital of خوزستان.¹

¹ Hyde de Reliq. Vet. Pers., cap 35, p. 415.—“ At quoad Elam' ipsius sedēm, ea apud Bar Bahlūl statuitur in regione Ahwāz, quæ est Elymais: بلدالاهواز 𐭮𐭮𐭮 , *Elam est regio Ahwāz*, quæ in Persarum libris est خوز, Stephano Κοατία, Herodoto Κοατίου seu Κίατιοι. Ideoque, vel *Elam*, vel aliquis alius habuit filium aut nepotem a quo ista regio sic denominata fuit. Gen. xxii. 21 memoratur נַחֲרִי Nachoris (Abrahami fratris) filius, qui videtur postea fixisse sedem in Elymaide, ibi reliquens sui nominis urbem *Chūz*, quæ nunc extat: unde tota regio hodiè in libris nominatur خوزستان, *Chuzistan*, seu *Cossæorum* regio. Iste *Chūz* fuit ex Arpacshadi prosapia, seu seris nepotibus, in succedente generatione 8^{va}. Is autem aliàs, tam à suis, quàm à vicinis gentibus, dictus est 𐭮𐭮 Hūz (sc. 𐭮𐭮), unde supradicta urbs ad hodiernum diem in plurali formâ appellatur 𐭮𐭮𐭮. Nam Assyriis isti populi vocantur 𐭮𐭮𐭮 Huzōye, Huzœi,

The interchange of the Pehlvi $\text{𐭮} = \text{هو}$ and the Sanscrit ह or घ , has been sufficiently proved by Rawlinson, x. 90, &c., which will itself account for the Greek $\sigma\sigma\sigma\alpha$ سوس نیشاپور (R. xi. 88), and gives us in our Pehlvi mint-mark the correct initial of the local orthography of the capital of Susiana. It remains to decide upon the applicability of 𐭮 to represent the true phonetic value of the concluding consonant of the old name. That there was much uncertainty in the method of writing this final, as well perhaps as in pronouncing it, among the proximate tribes, is proved by the variants still extant, as "Uraj" (Cuneiform 𐭲𐭥 = J—R., xi. 87), "Huz" (R., ibid. note ³), هوجستان, "هوز" .

I have then to justify the reading of $\text{𐭮} = \text{ث}$, strictly ت , as a sound approximate to ز, ج or س . As an example peculiarly applicable, I cite the word برث *Arabic*, "Mons consistens arena molli" (Freytag), which gives the true orthography of *Birs* in *Birs-i-Nimrūd* (Borsippa).² Here we have the *Arabic th* distinctly enunciated and passed into use with the proper *Persian* mode of pronunciation, as S ; may we not therefore, justly assume a similar vulgar use of the $\text{𐭮} = \text{ث}$ in the instance under review?

Since the above was actually in type, the illustrative plate duly transferred, and all presently available evidence collated, a handful of Sassanian coins,—rejected duplicates from the collection of Colonel Rawlinson,—has been sent to me for examination. Singular to say, among the number I find one, which, if I mistake not, bears a modified form of the identical mint-monogram we are now occupied upon. The discovery is important, as, assuming the new monogram to represent the place of coinage, elsewhere expressed by هو , we have a variant

et regio ipsa (quæ Chuzistan) est ܠܒܬ ܗܘܙܝܐ Beth-Huzôye, locus Huzæorum."
 et hodiè dicuntur *Chuzæi*, seu, ut Assyrii scribunt, *Huzæi*. Ista est urbs
 quæ in SS. Bibliis vocatur ܠܗܘܙܐ , *Gozan*, minus rectè, pro Persico خوزان .

Abulfeda, 311. Ouseley, 2, 72. Rawlinson, pp. 87, xi. J. R. A. S.

¹ Ouseley, pp. 73, 76.

² Rawlinson, xii. 436.

in the orthography, proving the applicability of the very articulation I was contending for. Certain it is that the facsimile I now give [عس] reads most distinctly هوج, هوج, or هوز, otherwise خوز: whether it shall eventually be classed as a variant of the leading mint-sign under consideration, or whether it may claim an independent identity, is a matter I leave for future determination; but for the present I advocate the former opinion.

Nos. 10 and 11. ه = ۱۰; ه = ۱۱.—I am inclined to class these two monograms under one and the same head, looking upon No. 10 as the older sign, which I find only on the coins of Firoz and Kobád: whereas No. 11 appears first on the money of Khusrú I., and is thereafter constant under its trilateral form.

Nos. 12 and 13, اي = ۱۲; ایر = ۱۳; and ایران = ۱۴, may, I think, likewise be associated under one heading; the two latter being apparently optional elongations of the original ای, which is first seen on the money of Varahrán V.

No. 14. ببا = ۱۴.—This monogram represents a mint whose locale I am specially anxious to identify. As yet I am by no means satisfied with my attempts in that direction; but such information as I have, I put forth with all its imperfection. It has been attempted to fix this monogram as the index of the city of Babylon—the obvious reading naturally tempted the notion; but we have a corrective to hasty guessing in the records on the coins of our Arab governors, which, taken in connexion with the historical data indicating the circle of government held by each, properly circumscribe the geographical limits beyond which we must not stray in search of a fitting local correspondent for our coin-endorsed mints.

The combination ببا, in its more modern form, occurs on the coins of two governors only in the entire Arabico-Pehlvi series—those of Selim bin Zíád and Abdallah bin Házim: the former, it is true, seems to have possessed at times certain westerly provinces. Abdallah bin Házim's association, as an independent ruler, was simply with the eastern division of the empire of the Khalifs, and it is on this side alone, therefore, that we must look for any mint he inscribes on his coins. The first facsimile given under No. 14 represents the outline the mint-mark displays on its first appearance in its

present form on a coin of Feroz. The sketch of the second example is taken from the money of Selim bin Zíád; and the third figure, which I doubtingly place in the same category, obtains on the earlier medals of Varahrán IV. and Yezdegird I.

I was at one time inclined to look upon the monogram as representing the Pehlvi word **ببا**,¹ and, as such, to connect it with the Arabic **باب**, and to expect to find that it referred to some frontier "city of a pass;" such a system of nomenclature being common enough at no great distance to the westward. I then tested the question as to whether the combination should be read as **ببد**; and previous to my discovery of the undoubted **!** *final* on the earlier medals of the Sassanians, I was disposed to adopt the city of **بون** otherwise **بمبند**,² as the town indicated by this perplexing mint-mark. I have for the present, however, arrived at a much less interesting conclusion, namely, that the monogram expresses the name of a mere suburb or quarter of the city of Merv, of whose own

ببا با اول مفتوح در خانرا كويند

Ferhang-i-Jehangiri, Pehlvi Vocabulary.

"من اللباب قال و باذغيس بليدات و قري كثيرة و مزارع بنواي هراة و قصبته باميين و قيل انها كانت دارملكة الهياطلة و قيل في بالجمية باد خيز لكثرة الرياح بها فعرب و قيل باذغيس و من بلاد باذغيس بون قال في اللباب مفتوح الباب الموحدة و سكون الواو و في آخرها نون قال و يقال لبون بنة ايضاً ببايين موحنتين الاولى مفتوحة و الثانية ساكنة قال و في مدينه بباذغيس عبد باميين المذكورة

Abulfeda, POP

" * * * Boun is one of the towns of Bazghees. * * * The author of this work says further: for Boun they write Bubnut likewise, with two single *da's*, the first with a *futteh*, and the second *sakin*; and he adds, this is a city in Bazghees, near the said Bameeyun."

See also Merásid-ul-Ittelá, *in voce* **بون**; and Istakhrí, p. 112:

و من هراة الي ببنه مرحلتان و من ببنه الي كف مرحله

proper mint-produce we have already so abundant a supply. I base my conclusion to this effect upon the following passage from the *Murásid-ul-Ittilá*:—

• ببارن تثنية¹ باب باي ببارن محله بافسل مرو

I must not close this note without adding, that if the first and second examples given among the facsimiles under No. 14 are to be disconnected from the third form, now doubtfully classed with them, it will be necessary to seek for an independent site for the city represented by the monogram last in order.

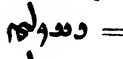
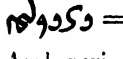
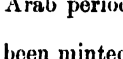

In this case, the letters composing this mint index must be examined under their own separate configurations, and we must inquire whether they may not bear a different interpretation to that obviously pertaining to the better defined characters of the more modern *رید*. A reference to the earlier Sassanian coins of Varahrán V. and Yezdegird I., whereon the third outline chiefly occurs, discloses the fact that the opening letters of the word *ددي* = *ددي* = *ددي*, which is constant in the principal legend on the obverse, are identical, under their imperfect expression, with the two characters which commence the mint-monogram. I notice more prominently this palpable degradation of the old Pehlvi letter *گ*, as it is a literal sign that is subsequently lost sight of,—so completely indeed, that its very existence has been questioned.



If the incomplete fashioning of the one letter of ascertained value in a word on a given piece, is to be taken as a test of the functions pertaining to a similarly designed character in another part of the medal, the mint-mark in question might possibly be rendered *ددي* = *ددي*; but I must confess myself unprepared to adopt this orthography.

No. 15 exhibits under one number three apparent varieties of the same monogram, though we may possibly find reason to separate the concluding form from its two associates. The sign placed third in the present order I judged to stand as an abbreviation of the name of Busrah²; but if I am to recognise the identity of the three mint-marks now quoted, I must abandon this position indefinitely, inasmuch as the two leading outlines occur severally on monies of Khusru I.

باباي ببارن L

² Journal Royal Asiatic Society, XII. 327.

and Hormuzdas IV., both of whom, as we know, died many years before even the foundations of the Arab city were laid. Supposing these two leading signs, however, to represent a different mint, let us examine the claims of the third and similar figures to symbolize the mint of Busrah. The example in question is found upon a piece which has not hitherto been described, and which presents us with certain peculiarities in the affiliating name which reads *Yezkerd*  = *يسكرت* as distinguished from the old style of  = *يزكرت*, or the orthography in use elsewhere during the Arab period, of  = *يزكرت*.¹ The coin purports to have been minted in the year 19 (*نوزده* = *الف*), and is totally deficient in the usual *بسم الله* or any sign of Moslem intervention; but this need not deter us from accepting it as an issue under Arab auspices. If there is nothing positive, there is equally nothing negative, upon the point; and if other arguments should hereafter lead us to admit that the two characters which compose the doubtful monogram were designed to express the initial letters of the name of Busrah, we may very reasonably adjudge this piece to have been coined in the mint of the southern metropolis, under the government of Abu-Mousa-al-Ashgari. The next occasion upon which this mint-mark is met with is on the coins of Abdulrahman, A.H. 52, whose legends are figured under No. XVI. Pl. III., Vol. XII. p. 346, Jour. Rl. As. Soc., and fig. I. Pl. I. accompanying. In this position it leads us very naturally to the more fully developed name that obtains uniformly in and after the year 55 A.H.,² from which date  is engraved in all legible completeness.

No. 16.  — *بز*.—We do not meet with this monogram previous to the reign of Khusrú I. I am not altogether satisfied that the initial letter is a ; but judging from the best outlines I am able to refer to, this letter represents the preferable reading, though in the parallel case of No. 24, whose early formation proves its later alphabetical value, the most modern examples of the initial R assimilate closely to the expression given to many specimens of the opening character of the mint under notice.

Supposing the value of the B to be admitted, the city indicated

¹ Journal Royal Asiatic Society, XII. p. 280.

² Coin of Zíád, No. 6, p. 288, Vol. XII., *et seq.*

might possibly be associated with the Sassanian¹ (فسا) بيسا, only that we do not well know when the town lost its ancient name of Rameshasan. (رامشاسان); otherwise, the interchange of the second consonant would matter but little.

No. 17. $\text{بو} = \text{ل}$.—I have seen but one specimen of the monogram copied under No. 17, and that occurs on a rudely-fashioned, deeply-impressed coin of Varahrán V., with a reverse similar to those figured by M. de Longpérier as VIII. 5, IX. 5.

The letters which compose the other legends of the coin, though coarse, are sufficiently intelligible. On the obverse may be read

ورهران ملكا — الملك كلود

On the reverse $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ور} \\ \text{ل} \end{array} \right. = \frac{\text{ور}}{\text{ل}} \text{ Varahrán.}$

I may remark, with a view to settle definitively the value of the second letter of the mint-mark, that it corresponds in form with the opening character of the king's name on the obverse: the reverse $\text{ل} = \text{و}$ is not so perfectly preserved.

No. 18. $\text{دوش} = \text{بیش}$ for Beiza. I have had no reason to modify my first interpretation of this mint-mark.

No. 19. $\text{ل} = \text{پر}$, فر , &c.—It has been proposed to read these letters as conveying the commencement of the word Pars (Persia Proper). There is, however, a fatal objection to this conclusion, in the fact that, whatever irregularities in orthographical expression may have obtained in Pehlvi, in the interchange of approximately homophonous consonants, it was not the custom to omit the vowels, which performed far too important a function to be dispensed with at will. Now Persia is uniformly written in its own languages with a long A,² as (Cuneiform) *Pársa*,³ (Pehlvi) پارس , (Persian) پارس ; and in no case of abbreviation of names or mint-indices have I

¹ Abulfeda, p. ۳۳۰. Mohl, *Mojmel Al Tawárikh*, Jour. Asiat. XI. 333.

² The Pehlvi ل is really *ā*, as the Zend ل is *ái* in the former alphabet.

³ Rawlinson, X. 119.

observed any process other than what might be called a rejection upwards of an indeterminate number of letters, the commencement of the word in each case being scrupulously preserved in all its original integrity.

No. 20. $\text{دا} = \text{ده}$ (Darabgerd).—I adhere most unreservedly to my first identification of this mint city: it appears as early as the reign of Feroz among the list of Sassanian mints, and, to judge by the specimens extant, must have contributed freely to the currency of the kingdom.

No. 21. $\text{دل} = \text{ول}$ or در .—This mint must not be confounded with the $\text{ول} = \text{کر}$ of No. 32. It occurs too often, and with too great distinctness of outline, to leave a doubt about the correct decipherment: its application to any fixed locality is a question for the future.

No. 22. $\text{دینان} = \text{دیوان}$ or دینان .—This word occurs but twice in the entire Sassanian series. It occupies the section of the coin at this time permanently devoted to the reception of the mint-monogram, and is to be seen only on two coins of Kobad, now in the British Museum.

No. 23. $\text{رام} = \text{لہ}$.—This is a very rare monogram. I have observed only two instances of its use, on the coins of Hormuzdas IV. and Khusru II. respectively.

I have already (XII. 328) suggested its applicability to Rám Hormuz, or any of the "Rests" of olden days. I may add that رامهرمز was specially abbreviated into رامز .¹

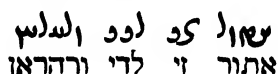
No. 24. $\text{لد} = \text{لو}$.—The true form and intent of the initial in this monogram are fortunately proved for us by the early specimens of its outline still extant, which, as has been already remarked (XII. 278), in their more exact adherence to the recognised literal forms of the Rock Alphabets, afford us very valuable tests of the correctness of the interpretations proposed for the later examples of the same sign expressed in modified and less accurately defined characters. I imagine I am able to detect still earlier examples of the associate

¹ Mojmel Al Tawárikh, Jour. Asiat. VII. 274.

characters of this mint-mark than those I have copied in the plate, which, if their identity be sustained, will contribute enlarged means for the verification of the name of the mint-city, by supplying us with an additional or third letter.

On a coin of Varahrán V. I observe the letters **لدي = لود** inscribed on that portion of the reverse field, to the left of the altar-flame, where we have already seen so many monograms of other cities inserted, previous to the special appropriation of the space on the extreme right to the reception of these records.

Ascending still higher in the scale of dates, we find on the reverse of a new medal of Varahrán II., of the type figured by M. de Longpérier as IV. 4, the following legend—



I isolate the word or name of **لدي** in this legend, not only because it agrees with the same trilateral word on Varahrán V.'s coin, but for a reason I am much prepared to rely on in certain cases, though I confess to its being an argument as yet unconceded, viz., that the **و** preceding and the **و** concluding the word are both shaped as finals.¹

I have called attention in another place to the peculiarity displayed by this coin in offering the first known instance of the numismatic use of the heretofore strictly lapidary character **ل**, to which, in this case, I assign, as the preferable rendering, the sound of L.

No. 25. **لم = ليو** or **ليو** represents one of the most prolific mints of the Sassano-Persian empire: from the reign of Fíróz to the extinction of the dynasty its forms recur with sufficient frequency, and are marked in their onward progress by the alphabetical modifications indicated in the order of the four examples reproduced in the plate.

No. 26. **لزو = زوبي**, **لزن**, **لزو**—I have but one original from which to quote this mint-mark—an undated coin of Khusrá Parvís.

¹ See also Gem 56, *infra*, and note on Alphabets, p. 379.

No 27. $\text{ست} = \text{سوم}$. — The mint indicated by the initial letters *Sat* claims our interest under the double aspect of the uniform succession of its issues from the days of Fīrōz to the Arab conquest, and its retention as a place of coinage by the Mohammadans after their acquisition of the country.

Its produce bears record of the Khilāfat of "the servant of God" (*Yezid*), in A.H. 63; and subsequently, under the mintages of the years 69 and 70, intimates to us that Aumar-i-Obeidullah presided over its administration.¹

No. 28. $\text{سم} = \text{سود}$. The single specimen of this monogram, which I have copied under No. 23, is in scarcely a sufficient state of preservation to authorize me to separate it definitively from the original of the facsimile of No. 7; but the inclination of the lines of the leading letter, still visible, give it a decided appearance of an سود .

No. 29. $\text{سو} = \text{سود}$. — I refrain from making any extended remarks upon this mint, as I am not quite satisfied with the reading; still I feel bound to affirm the correctness of my own copies from the originals, but, as has been repeatedly noticed, the similitude of the forms of سود and سو is one of the real difficulties of the later numismatic Pehlvi, when it is necessary to discriminate, not the actual semblance, but the original intent, for the due expression of which the imperfect knowledge or careless execution of the die-sinker has proved insufficient.²

¹ As purely conjectural readings, a choice of *Sad Hormuz*, *Sad Behmen* — both names of revenue divisions under the Arabs — might be suggested (see *Asiatic Journal*, 1839).

² Should س (S) prove the correct letter, it might be a question whether the monogram could not claim to represent سوسن . Tabari distinguishes this city very plainly in the following passages—

و هرمزان بشهري شد از اهواز كه آنرا سوق الاهواز
خواندندي و شهري اصلي ميانه بادشاهيست * * *
و از اهواز چهار شهر بدست او مانده بود يكي رام هرمز
كه او دروي نشسته بود و ديكر تستر و سيوم سوسن و چهارم
جندسابور و ان شهرها كه بدست مسلمانان بود سوق
الاهواز بزرگترين بود MS., Royal Asiatic Society, 99.

No. 30. شى = شى.—I have little hesitation in attributing this mint-mark to the ancient "Shiz," the Atropatenian Ecbatana (Canzaca), the Sassanian capital of Azerbaijan, and now Takht-i-Soleiman. Major Rawlinson, in his admirable paper on the identification of this city,¹ has entered so elaborately into the geographical question, and so thoroughly exhausted all that Oriental authors have contributed towards our knowledge, that nothing remains to be said on these points. I have merely to trace the numismatic progress of the monetary sign of the once great capital of Media.

The earliest appearance of this mint-mark is on a coin of Varahrán IV., whose money, as I have previously remarked, first introduces us to the practice of inscribing on the piece a record of its place of mintage. On this occasion we find the name of the mint-city expressed in its full integrity. The two letters شى = شى, which subsequently become the standard mint-monogram, are placed to the left of the flame which surmounts the altar; and to the right of the fire, or in what would constitute a lower and succeeding line in the order of reading, are figured the concluding letters زي = زي. I should have hesitated somewhat in joining together these separate portions of the name, had I not a most apposite instance on the coinage of the king next on the list, which seems fully to authorize the association. The engraving of the coin of Yezdegird I., in M. de Longpérier's Plate VII. fig. 2, exhibits a precisely similar division of the monogram I have classed as the third outline of No. 14, in the detail of Sassanian mints: here we find the two B's [ر] to the left of the flame, and the succeeding A [د] to the right of that object.

The monogram شى is first seen occupying its proper position—in the portion of the reverse field permanently appropriated to the reception of the name of the mint—on a medal of Feroz: henceforth it becomes sufficiently common on Sassanian money; and, finally, it is met with on coins apparently of the Arab period, or those bearing the name of عبدال and having the word عبد = عبد inscribed on the margin, of which mintage we have specimens bearing the several dates of 18—25, 26, 27—31, 32, &c.

No. 31. ك = ك (From a coin of Kobád—*N. Bland, Esq.*).—I should have had some reserve in quoting this unique initial-syllable,

¹ Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. X. 1840.

as distinguished from the common form of $\text{ود} = \text{و}$, had I not met with two instances of its use, at the commencement of a name(?), which reads in full $\text{ودلوی} = \text{کالوی}$. On the first occasion, the word is found on a coin of Varáhrán IV. (*Kirmdn Sháh*), and it is arranged within the field of the piece after the same manner as the شیری in No. 30, just noticed; the ود being to the left of the altar-flame, and the و appearing to the right of that object. The word recurs on a medal¹ of the succeeding monarch (Yezdegird I.),

¹ As this coin is of considerable interest, both for the superiority of the execution of its dies and for the novelty and unusual fullness of its legends, I transcribe the latter in modern Pehlvi.

OBVERSE.

$\text{مودیس} | \text{بنی} | \text{ود} | \text{لامشتری} | \text{یودکرتی} | \text{مربان} | \text{مربان} | \text{کالوی} | \text{ود}$

REVERSE.

$\text{یودکرتی} | \text{امشی} | \text{لامشتری} | \text{ود} | \text{کالوی}$

The name of Yezdegird commences the circular intra-marginal scroll, which continues, as above arranged, around the field; the word *Atushi* occupying the space immediately at the top of the piece, above the flame of the fire-altar. I have been careful in distinguishing in my mere servile transcript the R's and L's, the former of which are represented in the original by ل , which sign, it must be remembered, answers equally for the modern letter و . The letter L ل I use as the equivalent of the Sassanian ل . It will be seen that I adopt a different letter for the initial of the term (title?) *Lamashtari*, as found on the reverse. I do so strictly in accordance with the outlines employed in my medallie text; but the letter in question may fairly be taken for an ل . Of the other examples of this word I may note the following:

British Museum Coin.

$\text{لامشتری} | \text{کالوی}$

One of Colonel Rawlinson's duplicates.

$\text{لامشتری} | \text{کالوی}$

Generally ل may be accepted as the favourite reading, as the word is by no means of uncommon occurrence, though it is seldom perfectly expressed. It will be seen from this that I do not coincide in Mordtmann's interpretation of *Rastachi*. In the same manner I must explain that I have rendered the third letter of the *Atishi* $\text{ش} = \text{ش}$, in accordance with the form employed on the piece I am

being similarly placed; and, to complete the circle of evidence, I may note the inscription of the two isolated letters **و** and **د** in the same position, but unaccompanied by the concluding characters, on a smaller coin of the same sovereign.¹

No. 32. **و** = **کر**.—I associate this mint-mark with the ancient abbreviation of *Kermán*; the characters which compose it duly correspond with the opening letters of the name of the province as expressed on the gem of Varáhrán Kermán Sháh

ورهران کرمان = الدلم ولسم

given by Ouseley as No. 3 of his "Medals and Gems."³

We meet with numerous introductory examples of the monogram on the coins of this king, whose title, as we know, was derived from

describing, though I am by no means satisfied that the word is anything else than the common **دلم ولسم**, with its third and fourth letters joined, which, in effect, would make them into the single character which stands for **و**; however, the lower limbs of the characters **ور**, if such they are, have been unduly elongated; and *Atishi* must for the present be taken as the preferable reading.

¹ I observe a further peculiarity in this last coin, which I may as well take this opportunity of noticing. A practice obtained in the mintages of the Sassanian monarchs, from Sapor Zu'laktaf to Yezdegird II., of inscribing the word **طندمد** in the parallelogram which forms the column of the altar. The word, however, varies considerably, both in completeness and accuracy of expression, on the different coinages, and on some of the better executed samples the inscribed letters seem to necessitate a variation in the reading. The coin in question offers us a case in point, as the letters run **طچیدی**, **رچیدی**, **لچیدی**. On M. de Longpérier's coin, depicted as No. 2, Pl. VII., the characters engraved form the word **رکد**.

² I would draw attention to the uniform use of **ط** both as R and L in the legends on this gem; the same alphabetical sign doing duty for R in *Páhuri*, and for L in *Malka*, &c.

³ Quarto. London, 1801. I venture to differ from Ouseley in the transcription he adopts for the legend of this gem: I would suggest the following—

دلم ولسم	ورهران	کرمان	طندمد	طچیدی	رچیدی	لچیدی
ورهران	کرمان	طندمد	طچیدی	رچیدی	لچیدی	مנוצتری
ور	کر	ط	ط	ط	ط	ط
م	م	م	م	م	م	م

the principality itself. In these cases the mint-mark occupies the position originally assigned to these records—the space to the left of the altar-flame. Under Varahrán V. the sign appears in the now fixed mint location, at the back of the figure standing on the right of the altar. Henceforth, this monogram is of common occurrence, until it merges into the more comprehensive expression of the full name on the coins of the Arabs, given under *e*, Plate I.

No. 33. $\text{𐭥𐭥} = \text{م}$.—It has been attempted to fix this mint-mark as applying to the town of Madain, the capital of the Khusrús; but here again I must object to the orthography, as the name of this city is invariably written in Tabari, &c. مداین , with the short vowel *ä*, and not with the long one, as would be necessary to make it accord with the monogram now before us.

The monogram itself is of rare occurrence, being seen only on the coins of Fíróz.

No. 34. $\text{𐭥𐭥} = \text{مر}$.—I do not think I can well err in assigning this most common monogram to the city of *Merv*. From the time of Kobád the sign appears with regular uniformity, modified slightly in the outlines of its component letters, until we find it amplified into the complete form it assumes under the Arabs. (See *m*, Plate I.)

No. 35. $\text{𐭥𐭥} = \text{نهر}$ or نار .—I give the preference to the modern transcription first in order, because I have not met with any example of this monogram that assures me positively that the second letter is designed for an *h*. The mint-mark is not of very ancient date, as far as the extant coins show us, inasmuch as its earliest appearance is on a medal of Hormuzdas IV. It subsequently becomes common enough.

No. 36. $\text{𐭥𐭥} = \text{ن}$.—This also is a monogram of later date, and is introduced to us only by the coins of Khusrú II. It seems to have continued in currency during the early part of the Arab rule.

Dr. Mordtmann has proposed as one of the readings for a monogram he reads as ن the name of the city of Nehawend نہاوند ,¹ the

¹ Abulfeda, ۴۱۶.

scene of the great Arab victory over the Persian hosts. I do not see any obvious objection to the identification as applied to the mint now before us, an assignment which is, to a certain extent, supported by the numismatic evidence, and is clearly preferable to the alternative suggested by the same author of *Nachtshivan*.

No. 37. $\text{ن} = \text{ن}$ or ن is unique on a coin of Khusrú II., of the year 30.

No. 38. $\text{و} = \text{و}$.—The monogram و is met with as early as the reign of Firóz; is frequent on the coins of Khusrú I., Hormuzdas IV., and Khusrú II., extending well into the Arab period; and is finally used on the money of Zíád bin Abú Sofián, under the dates 52 and 53 A.H.¹

No. 39. $\text{و} = \text{و}$.—This mint-mark dates only from Khusrú I.: it is of common occurrence, and the reading, so far as it goes, seems pretty well assured. I have not met with the sign on any proved Arab coin.

No. 40. $\text{و} = \text{و}$.²—This is one of the earlier mint indices of the series, being introduced on a coin of Yezdegird I. It is common up to the time of Khusrú I., after which it is entirely lost sight of. There is a degree of suspicion in this fact, taken in connexion with the initiatory appearance of the similar, and possibly identical, sign, No. 36, on the coins of later date, when we call to mind that in many instances the old $2 = \text{و}$ became the $1 = \text{و}$ in the more modern writing which preceded the Arab conquest.³ In this case, we must abandon the identification of Nahavend, suggested for No. 36, which, under the amended reading, would stand for و instead of و .

¹ Vol. XII. p. 283, and fig. 8 of PL. II. See also "Le Genie de l'Orient." Bruxelles, 1849.

² See also, Longpérier, VIII. 5. Wilson, Ar. Ant. XVI. 5.

³ Vol. XII. 270. I am bound, however, to state that my best evidence of the use of 1 for و is in its employment as the initial in ويست . If it be allowable to read this initial as و , and transcribe the date in modern letters as بيست , the argument above will be considerably shaken.

No. 41. **هزني = سلو**.—The monogram figured under No. 41 is incomplete in its outline, and I have no second example whereby to supply its imperfections. The original now cited occurs on a coin of Kobád, in the British Museum.

No. 42. **يزد = دكد** Yezd.—I am not thoroughly satisfied with this interpretation, though I have but little to urge against it, and certainly have no better reading to propose. My difficulties on this head have been already stated at large (Vol. XII. pp 281, 325).¹ I have placed the facsimiles now cited among the Imperial Sassanian Mints, because they occur on coins bearing the name of Yezdegird II.; but, properly speaking, they should—in virtue of the **بسم الله** which is emblazoned on the margin of the pieces—be classed in the list of the Arab mints, as I have discovered no distinct instance of their employment on the money of the earlier Sassanian monarchs.

No. 43. **دو، بن — م**, &c.—This sign first makes its appearance, in the form given under No. 43, on a coin of Khusrú I. Two examples under this reign, and one from a *B'ism'illah* coin, of the year 35,² are all I am able to quote of this monogram.

No. 44.—The monogram which concludes the list of Sassanian mints is met with only on a class of Imperial fire-worship coins, whose nominal legends are couched either in a very unusual form of Pehlvi or some kindred modification of the alphabet, to which we have not as yet acquired the key; and the mint-record is expressed apparently in a similar form of characters.

The Pehlvi word **سزكم**, though curiously fashioned, is legible enough; and an analogous marginal inscription on the obverse may be represented in modern characters by **سزكم** or, as other coins give it, **سزكم**.

¹ These doubts do not now extend to the accuracy of the transcription of the fourth letter of the name of Yezdegird II. as **د** = R, which is satisfactorily confirmed both by new examples and variants in the alphabetical style.

² Vol. XII. p. 282.

ARAB MINTS.

Numbers.	Plate.		
45	a	بصرة =	Busrah
46	b	؟	
47	c	خوبس =	Khubus
48	d	خوراسان =	Khorásán
49	e	کرمان =	Kermán
50	f	کرمانان =	?
51, 52	g, h	کرمان سر =	?
53, 54	i, j	کرمانهفت =	?
55	k	؟	
56	l	؟	
57	m	مرو =	Merv
58	n	مروروت =	Mervarúd
59	o	هرزان =	?
60	p	هزرشت =	Balkh
61	q	ادرشپ =	
62	r	ادرشپ =	
63	s	سیزاجتان =	Sejistán
64	t	هرا =	Herát
65	u	کشان =	?
66	v	یشیت =	?

This last is a new mint, which I have only lately met with on a coin of Obeidullah bin Zíád, dated apparently 58 A.H.

I have previously (XII. 326) ventured, somewhat in defiance of obvious readings, to suggest that the mint names classed under

Nos. 60, 61, and 62, in the above detail, were referable to the city of Balkh; the subjoined extracts tend so much to confirm my first impression, that I have now definitively adopted the identification,¹ at which Hyde had already arrived, by a different process of induction.²

آورده اند که عجمان را هفت آتشکده بوده بدین موجب
اول اذر مهر دوم اذر نوش سیوم اذر بهرام چهارم اذر این
پنجم اذر خرین [اذر خرداد] ششم اذر برزین هفتم اذر زردش

* * اذر شپ * * و اذر شپ * * و اذر گشپ

و اذر گشپ * این چهار لغت مترادف نهند بسه معنی * *
دوم نام آتشکده باشد که کشتاسب در بلخ بنا نهاده و
کنجای خود را در آن پنهان ساخته بود * *

اذر آباد * * این چهار لغت مترادف نهند بدو معنی اول

نام آتشکده بوده که در شهر تبریز بنا کرده بودند و معنی
ترکیبی آن معوره آتشت چه آذر آتش است و آباد معوره را
خوانند دوم شهر تبریز را نامند چون آتشکده در آن شهر بود
آن شهر را بنام آن آتشکده موسوم ساختند و معرب آن

اذر باجانست MS. Forhang-i-Jehāngiri.


¹ It may be objected, that I have elsewhere (Mint, No. 4) proposed the ancient 𐭠 as the equivalent of the second letter in the modern transcription of 𐭠 , and that I now adopt the Pehlvi 𐭠 as the representative of that character; but I should claim the option on the ground of provincial variations, had I not already medallie authority for the absolute commutability of the two Pehlvi letters. See Colonel Rawlinson's coin, quoted under Mint 9.

² Relig. Vet. Pers., p. 524 (Edit. 1760).

The first number of the "Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft" of 1850 publishes a series of letters from Dr. Mordtmann, addressed to Professor Olshausen of Kiel, on the subject of Sassanian Coins. As the major part of Dr. Mordtmann's investigations refer to the Sassanian *proper*, or Imperial, series, I do not propose to enter, in this place, into any general examination of the points touched upon by him; but I feel myself bound to notice his laudable endeavours to illustrate the very difficult question of the identification of certain Sassanian mints.

I avoid reproducing Dr. M.'s facsimiles, which in many cases are decidedly faulty, and content myself with quoting his entire list, by attaching the numbers corresponding with similar outlines figured in the accompanying Plate (No. I.) to a reprint of his detail of interpretations.

DR. MORDTMANN'S LIST (p. 93, *loco cit.*).

No. 19. <i>Pars.</i>	No. 39. <i>Nishach pur.</i>
„ 29. <i>Si stan.</i>	„ 40. <i>Nach tshivan oder Neh avend.</i>
[not met with] <i>Ad erbeigan.</i>	„ 27. <i>St achr.</i>
No. 33. <i>Ma da (Medien).</i>	„ 20. <i>Karkisia oder Kadesia.</i>
„ 34. <i>Max enderân.</i>	„ 14. <i>Babylon ?</i>
„ 8. <i>Su sa.</i>	𐭮𐭥 Ninive ?
„ 9. <i>Sind.</i> 	„ 29. <i>Kabul.</i>
„ 21. <i>Ker man.</i>	𐭮 ? ?
[not met with] <i>Zab lestan.</i>	„ 11. <i>Achm atana = Ecbatana.</i>
No. 16. <i>Zer endsh.</i>	„ 38. <i>Jezd.</i>
„ 24. <i>Zad riaspa.</i>	

As I have already given my own tentative readings in detail, I will not here recapitulate my differences with Dr. Mordtmann, but simply confess, with but little satisfaction to myself, to the validity of the following summary, which sets forth the state of the case between us.

1. I disagree altogether in the interpretation proposed for Nos. 14, 29, 38, and 𐭮𐭥.

2. I do not object to the reading, but am not convinced of the applicability of the identification suggested for Nos. 19, 33, 27, and 11.

3. I do not read the given letters in the same manner as Dr. M. in Nos. 34, 8, 9, 16, 24, 39, 40, 20. In 21, the facsimile inserted in the text is apparently an error for 32, which last unquestionably represents the letters 𐭮𐭥 = کر.

As I have pointed out, without reserve, my objections to many of Dr. Mordtmann's interpretations of mint monograms, I am glad to have it in my power to quote, with general acquiescence in its tenor, the passage wherein my fellow-labourer rectifies M. de Longpérier's erroneous attribution of several medals of the Sassanian Monarchs.

Though this, like much I have avoided referring to, does not directly concern my present purpose, yet a just correction of so much faulty Pehlvi reading cannot fail to be valuable to all who would study the earlier suite of Persian medals as introductory to a knowledge of the later series, inscribed with but little modified legends in a similar tongue.

“Ferner kann ich Ihnen bei Longpérier folgende Irrthümer, bez. Zusätze, nachweisen :

“Pl. VII. Nr. 2 ist nicht Artaxerxes II., sondern Jezdigird I.
Die Umschrift auf dem Avers ist :

Mazdaian bag Rastachi Jezdkerti Malkan Malka.

Das Wort Rastachi ist mir unbekannt, wie ich bereits oben erwähnt habe. Dagegen freut es mich, aus dem Text (Vorrede S. II. Anm. 3) zu erfahren, dass Hr. Tychsen den Namen *Jezdkerti* schon ganz so gefunden hat, wie ich: ein Zusammenreffen, welches die Richtigkeit unserer Ansicht gegen Longpérier wohl sicher stellt.

“Pl. VII. Nr. 3 ist ebenfalls ein Jezdigird I.

“Pl. VIII. Nr. 3 u. 4 sind nicht Jezdigird I., sondern Jezdigird II.

“Pl. X. Nr. 1 ist ein Kubad vom J. 12.

“Pl. X. Nr. 3 ist kein Dshamasp, sondern ein Kubad. Die Aufschrift auf der Vorderseite ist *Kawat af[zud]*. Die Münze ist aus Ispahan, vom J. 18.

“Pl. X. Nr. 4. Die Umschrift auf der Kehrseite heisst vollständig: links *Chusrub. Tshetar si.* Chosroes 34.
rechts *Iran. Afzud direfsh.* Persien: Es lebe das Reichspanier.

“Pl. X. Nr. 5 ist ein Chosroes I. vom J. 26, aus Susa.

“Pl. XI. Nr. 2 enthält ganz deutlich die aramäische Zahl eins 𐤀 mit dem Finalstrich. [This is 𐤀 ten.]

“Hinsichtlich Pl. XI. Nr. 3 behalte ich mir vor, in Wien, wo sich das Original befindet, die vollständige Deutung der Legenden zu versuchen.

COINS.

Among some duplicate Sassanian coins that have been left in this country by Colonel Rawlinson, I notice one bearing the name of Zíád bin Abú Sofián, which purports to have been minted at Beiza, in the year 56 A.H. Historical evidence incontestably proves that Zíád died in Ramzan, A.H. 53; so that the piece in question must have been struck, and in like manner the reverse die, used in its coinage¹, must have been prepared, some three years subsequent to his decease. This is not by any means the first posthumous coin of this governor I have had to quote; indeed, Nos. 5 and 6 (p. 228, XII.) commence an independent series (A.H. 64 and 65), of which the present medal furnishes, for the time being, the completion.

I do not look upon the appearance of posthumous coins as constituting any real difficulty in these inquiries, though I warned my readers from the very first (p. 257, XII.) not to rely too much upon any *later* dates that were at all opposed to other testimony. The practice of putting forth these continuations of an established coinage undoubtedly detracts materially from the complete value of coins as evidences to dates; but when known, and regarded with due caution, it should be but little liable to mislead.

No. I. Pl. I. (No. 55, Pl. III. fig. XVI. previous series, Vol. XII. p. 317 Journal Royal Asiatic Society). Silver. Mr. Bardoe Elliot.

Obv. Left.	{	س	افزوت	²
		نك ۱۴۰		
Left.	{	نك ۱۴۳	اپدرمان	
		دك ۱۴۵	ي نريتان	
Marg.		بسم الله		
Rev. Left.		نك ۱۴۲	دوينجا	A.H. 52.
Right.		نك	ب	Busrah?

¹ It would be a curious subject of inquiry to ascertain whether the obverse die was renewed on these occasions.

² It has been suggested that this monogram should be interpreted as **س** = **س**, Silver. Apart from the deficiency of the requisite letters in the original, I note the serious objection to the rendering proposed, in the fact that the monogram in question is used on the copper coinage.

I quote this coin as affording in its well-preserved legend a satisfactory confirmation of the reading formerly proposed for the only fellow-example of the money of this governor yet published. I am, however, still unable to offer any further historical information calculated to throw light upon the identity of the person here named as Abdalrahman-i-Zeid.

No. II. Pl. I. (variant of No. 53, Pl. III. fig. XV. previous series, Vol. XII. p. 316). Silver. Weight, 43 gr. My Cabinet.

Obv.	{	اپدولا امير	
	{	ولرويشويكان	
Marg.		بسم الله	
Rev. Left.	دودلج	سي پنجاه	53 A.H.
Right.	ده	دا	Darábgerd.

No. II. α. A second unpublished specimen of this mintage, lately purchased for the British Museum, bears date

Darábgerd دودلج = هف پنجاه = 57 A.H.

No. 2 (variant of No. 30, Pl. II. fig. VI. previous series, Vol. XII. p. 302). Silver. The Asiatic Society of Bengal. Unique.

Obv.	{	اومسري	
	{	دودلج	
Marg.		بسم الله	
Rev. Left.	دودلج	پنج	65 A.H.
Right.	دودلج	بص	Busrah.

I have previously given a coin of Aumar-i-Obeidallah, struck in this same year in Kermán.

The class of coins of which No. II. is a specimen have hitherto been but imperfectly described, as, when I published the notice of the four pieces grouped under No. XV. Plate III. Vol. XII. of this Journal, I felt some hesitation in pronouncing them, what in effect

they prove to be, anonymous coins, impressed with the ordinary titular designations appertaining to the dignity, but wanting in the identificatory name of the ruling Khalif. The previously made known examples, together with those I am now able to cite, furnish the following list:—

- | | |
|--|------------------------|
| 1. No. II., above described Darabgerd, A.H. 53 | } Moavia. |
| 2. No. XV. (previous series)... .. „ A.H. 54 | |
| 3. Second specimen above quoted „ A.H. 57 | |
| 4. Nos. XV ₂ , XV ₄ , p. 316, Vol. XII. دم A.H. 63 | Yezid. |
| 5. No. XV ₃ . ditto Kermánsir, A.H. 66 | { Abdallah-bin-Zobeir. |

To complete the series, and bring under one view all coins bearing collateral legends, as well as to prove the legitimacy of the interpretation proposed, I would also cite the introductory coin of Moavia, No. 52, p. 316, Vol. XII., and refer to the concluding specimen of this mixed series entered below under No. IV. These two coins will be seen to vary from the anonymous pieces, only so far as in exhibiting the proper name of the Khalif at the commencement of the legend, in lieu of the general term *Abdallah*, which was elsewhere much used as a leading prefix,¹ and was common to all as assumed “servants of God.”

The legends of these medals afford further subject for remark, in the expression of the title of the Khalif, which is seen to be Amir of the Koreish, and not Amir-ul-Muomunín, or “Commander of the Faithful,” as is affirmed by written history to have been the form officially adopted by Omar.² The term امير المؤمنين does not occur on the coinage of the Khalifs until the age of Al Mansúr, A.H. 136—158.

Having now assembled under a separate heading all the medals of this class, I would take this opportunity of adverting to a philological question that arises out of a comparison of the tenor of their legends. It will be observed that Nos. 52, 53 (old series), Nos. II. and II. a

¹ Ockley, I. pp. 174, 321, &c.: “From the servant of God, Omar,” &c.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من عبد الله يزيد الي فلان بن

Tabarí, MS. فلان

* * من عبد الله ابن عبد الله ابن جعفر الامام

Behaiki, MS. القائم بامر الله

² Ockley, I. p. 121: “Omar being the first that ever was called by that title.” See also D’Herbelot, in voce Omar.

(now quoted), as well as a coin published by Mordtmann (p. 91, *l. c.*), all of which are the produce of the Dárábgerd mint, express the connecting particle forming the genitive, which follows the word *Amir*, and precedes the name of the tribe, by the Pehlvi letters $\text{ا} = \text{و}$ which combination I suppose to be identical in use with the same particle as it occurs in the *Apestan-ul-Yezdan* of the gems. Whereas in the coins numbered 54, 55, XV₃, and XXIV., old series (the latter of which is reproduced as No. IV. of the present list), which issued from the various mints designated by the monograms 27, *g*, *h*, and 9, Pl. I., we find the ordinary sign of the genitive $\text{و} = \text{ي}$ prefixed to the term *Koroish*, which is itself so far modified from its orthography in the other examples as to require a separate initial $\text{ا} = \text{و}$.

The contrast then stands as follows:

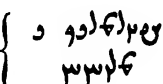
Dárábgerd	.	اوردن-اودوس
Other mints	.. . .	اوردن-اودوس

Whether the indications now noticed evidence any dialectic difference as existing on the sites whence the variations emanated, is a point which may fairly arise, supposing my deductions from the materials available are just. I must, however, admit to myself that the position I have suggested is sufficiently hazardous, inasmuch as the *U* I assume to be a separate particle may possibly prove to be a mere inapt effort of the Persian artizans to express, in their own imperfect alphabet, the Arab articulation of *ق* in *قريش*. And equally the local use of the *ي*, especially if it be an addition as opposed to a substitution, may merely indicate a system of omission, intentional or otherwise, on the part of the moneyers of Dárábgerd—an omission, I must add, I find not infrequent in the money of Zíád bin Abú Sofián.

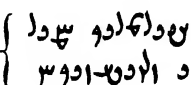
No. III. Pl. I. Unpublished. Silver. Mr. Bardoe Elliot. Unique.

OBV.	{	اوردن-اودوس	مكمت
		اوردن-اودوس	ي اوردن-اودوس
Marg.		بسم الله	
REV. Left.		اوردن-اودوس	هفشيف A.H. 67.
Right.		اوردن-اودوس	هفشيف Herát.


In describing this coin on a previous occasion (p. 319, Vol. XII.), I transcribed the legends precisely as I propose to do at present. I was not, however, at that moment so confident in my decipherment as to venture to place it among my other proven readings. My cause of doubt arose chiefly from the fact of the existence of one unquestionable coin of Abdalmalik, which displayed not only a varying orthography in the leading name, but whose affiliating legend continued in a totally different style from that observable on the piece under review. In the one case (No. 45, p. 312, XII.), the nominal formulæ ran


Abdalmalik-i-	{	
Merwān.		

while in the other instance it was necessary to reconcile the appropriation, to the same ownership, of the following strikingly contrasted legend:

Abdalmalik Amīr-	{	
i-Urūshāfkan.		

My late investigations into the history of the coinage of this period have, as I have before remarked, led me to expect a much lower degree of either orthographical exactitude or general uniformity of style in the adaptation of Arab names and titles than I was at one time prepared to demand, and as the determination of one portion of the subject naturally contributes to the elucidation of the remainder, the definite appropriation of this coin to the ruling Khalif is almost necessitated in itself by the assignment lately made of the class of money detailed under No. II.

Among subsequent contributions to the general series, I must not omit to quote a coin of Hejāj bin Yūsaf, now in the British Museum, dated Beiza, A.H. 78. The annual date is slightly imperfect in the concluding portion, but is otherwise quite satisfactory in its import, retaining in full legibility the letters .

The obverse die differs in its details from the original used in the coinage of No. 47 (p. 314, XII.), which piece was issued from the same mint in the succeeding year, inasmuch as it reproduces the entire Arabic legend which occurs on the margins of the coins of  instead of the shorter invocation of الله بسم.

SASSANIAN GEMS.

I have but few observations wherewith to preface my catalogue of gems.

In detailing the brief descriptions of the devices peculiar to each, in their serial order, I have thought it might be useful to append a modern Pehlvi transcript¹ of the legends, whose facsimiles appear in Plate II.

Although I pretend to a very limited knowledge of the language itself, I trust that even a mere mechanical reproduction of the ancient writing, in a defined and uniform type, may aid those whose eyes are less accustomed to the vagaries of Sassanian seal-engravers, than mine have necessarily become.

My second, or printed list of legends, has been taken *de novo* from the original monuments, which have served in some cases to correct errors and omissions in the previously completed anastatic copy.

The majority of the gems or seals,—for to the latter class do they more correctly pertain,—seem to belong to the Sassanian period of Persian history. Some of those, whose devices are distinguished by the use of the Parthian cap, and an old style of writing, I should be disposed to refer to a very early epoch in the domination of the race of Adeshír Bábek, if not to a date even prior to the empire founded by that individual; but, generally speaking, the form of the characters of the legend will afford the safest basis for a determination of the relative era, due regard being always had for what must be considered local or provincial peculiarities in the fashion of the letters, &c. .

The more modern specimens, such as Nos. 63, 74, 75, 76, 77, 83, &c.,

¹ I have generally distinguished the $\hat{\text{u}}$ = u and y = y by their modern Pehlvi diacritical points, as the repetition of the unmarked u , which in its normal form answered for u , o , and z , &c., tended to complicate rather than simplify the reading.

I have also taken a liberty with my type of making use of d , properly x , to mark the u = u as discriminated from u = y , for had I followed the modern Parsi practice of employing one character to represent the two diverse sounds, I should have left my transcript less legible than the originals, for whose elucidation it was intended.

For the distinction between the y = y , and y = y , I have been obliged to rely upon the Persian type, and the obvious difference in the facsimiles.

may, I think, be adjudged to a much more recent period, and one considerably subsequent to the date of the Arab conquest.

• In regard to the arrangement adopted in the classification of these objects, as I did not venture to rely conclusively on any epochal distribution founded on the form of the character, and had still less reason to trust my own most imperfect efforts at linguistic interpretation, I was forced to adopt the only remaining resource, and to group these relics after the devices they chanced to hold in common.

No. 1.—Large lapis-lazuli gem. Stuart Collection, British Museum,
No. 6 $\frac{4}{11}$ 23.¹

Devise.—Bust of a man, facing to the right; head surmounted by the Parthian tiara, behind which are seen the regal fillets: the hair is arranged in formally-twisted plaits; the beard also seems to have been curled after the ancient manner, though it is short in comparison to those of Achæmenian's: a large globular ear-ring depends from the ear.

² دندمان لو رود وندکو د دندمان منورین Legend. — اتوریتیاچی
اشورپرک بگی بهزک زنی

¹ Where not otherwise specified, the gems in this list are to be understood as belonging to our national Museum.

I append a notice of the three interesting gems published by Ouseley, in 1803.

A.—Bust of prince to the right; head-dress and general appearance very similar to the figure described under No. 1 above.

Legend—Already quoted, under Mint No. 32, *supra*.

B.—Bust, with profile to the right; the hair is arranged in close curls over the entire skull, but depends behind in plaited twists; the whisker is also plaited, while the beard itself is uncurled; an ear-ring and necklace adorn the figure.

Legend.—**نارنگی** **کدو** **دھن** **مکھن**. See also gem 70.

C.—Bust to the right, bearded; the hair smooth, and in short curls round the temples and back of the head.

ۛۛۛۛ ۛۛۛۛۛۛۛۛ

* I am doubtful whether the 12th letter above should not be fendered instead of د.

- No. 2. *Device*.—Coarsely-executed bust and profile, to the right, with Parthian cap; the hair is in straight plaits; the beard is short and uncurled.

Legend.—لەبەردەو مەمەو

راستی هوێ (هێتی)

- No. 3. *Device*.—Bust to the right, face in profile, with Parthian tiara and fillets; the beard is short, and the hair slightly curled at the back of the neck; below the breast and around the shoulders appear objects that elsewhere are seen to be wings.

Legend.—لەبەردەو مەمەو

یەکتەچایەتەف

- No. 4. *Device*.—Bust of a male, to the right; the head is uncovered, but the hair is arranged in close short curls around the forehead and back of the neck; the beard is moderately long and pointed; the ear-ring and a close-fitting plain dress complete the picture.

Legend.—مەمەو مەمەو مەمەو

اوتەشتر کەمەن

- No. 5. *Device*.—Nearly similar to No. 4, with the exception of the beard and ear-ring, which are wanting.

Legend.—مەمەو مەمەو مەمەو

یاکو فی یومسچێ (مەسچێ)

- No. 6. *Device*.—Bust, with close cap and fillets; the hair is curled in ringlets at the back; the beard is short; ear-rings, &c. Three stars are seen on the front of the breast.

Legend.—مەمەو مەمەو مەمەو مەمەو

- No. 7. *Device*.—Head similar to the last, with the exception of the back-hair,—which is in close circular curls,—and the three stars,—which are replaced by a single star and a crescent in the field, located respectively on different sides of the figure.

Legend.—¹ مەمەو مەمەو مەمەو

¹ I question whether the final and penultimate letters in this legend, as well as those to be seen in a similar position in an analogous word on No. 88,

- No. 8. *Device*.—A female bust, nearly identical with that engraved under No. 12, Pl. III., with the exception of the hands and arms, which are here altogether omitted; a flower is seen above the front of the head, attached, as it were, to the circlet of the fillet.

Legend.—**داندو** داندو **دوهشي** دوهشي
اتور اتور


- No. 9. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

Legend.—١٢٣٤ ٥٦٧ ٨٩١٠

- No. 10. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

Legend.—**و** وسمبولوؤو

- No. 11. *Device* —Coarsely-executed bust, similar to No. 6.

Legend (imperfect) — 

ought not to be rendered 'as the single vowel *u*. I have met with several apparent instances of what I should term the duplication of two final *u* = *es* supplying the place of an *u*, and, as in the case of the *uu*, we have found the optional modification of the normal form of the letter into a character nearly similarly outlined to that now under notice (Khufus, Pl. I. c, and Vol. XII. pp. 329, 342, 343, Pl. III. 9, 10).

So we may fairly admit the applicability of a parallel system to a letter possessing so many analogous details as the 49 evinces in common with the 49.

I imagine I detect an occasional difference between the open forms of the two letters, such as would accord directly with the originals of each, in the lower corners of the **u** being kept at a more direct angle than was requisite to form the more inclined lines of **u**; but, as we have seen in the case of the prototypes themselves, it will not do to rely upon these apparent indications.

In gems Nos. 6 and 40 I have adopted the ~~u~~ in my transcription of a nearly identical character, and I should propose a like reading for the doubtful letters in Nos. 31 and 38.

¹ See Gem 35.

- No. 18. *Device*.—A well-designed beardless head; the hair is closely smoothed down over the upper part of the head, and is encircled by a band, below which are arranged a row of close curls, which are doubled at the back of the neck; the ear-ring and the upper portion of a close-fitting tunic complete the figure, which is supported by half-extended wings.

Legend.—𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

اپستان ولد یزدای

- No. 19. *Device*.—A gryphon.¹ See engraving, Pl. III.

Legend.—𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

یزدتی بوه ناترن بدکران

- No. 20. *Device*.—A gryphon. See engraving, Pl. III.

Legend.—𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

- No. 21. *Device*.—The Assyrian bull. See Engraving, Pl. III.

Legend.—𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

ستان اتوری

- No. 21. A.—I am anxious to call attention to the degraded type of the Assyrian bull, and the Arabic (Kufic) legend that encircles it, delineated in Plate III. as No. 21 A. It is difficult to say in what precise light we ought to view the indications afforded by the association of the emblem of that most ancient form of worship with the sacred alphabet of the Korán—whether the mythological symbol is to be accepted as indicating the continuance of popular reverence for its rites and ceremonies, or whether our Arab owner is merely to be supposed to have adopted for his signet-device a picture pleasing to his fancy, without reference to its intent and meaning. Of the two, the former interpretation seems to claim most favour. However, be this as it may, our

¹ See Layard, II., p. 459.


² The 8th and 15th letters in this legend are doubtful; the original may possibly stand for 𐭮 = ی or 𐭠 = چ.

gem proves most clearly that the remembrance and pictorial use of the sacred emblem of Assyrian faith survived in the land till after the propagation of the creed of Mohammad, for it was with his self-assumed mission only that the invention of the Kufic character originated.

The *Legend* itself seems to have been fairly defined in the first instance, and probably would have been legible in its entire length, had not the gem received extensive injury on the edges whereon the inscription is engraved. I read, however, subject to correction, the following portion of the scroll:—

عبدہ اسمعیل بن احمد

No. 22. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

Legend.—

No. 23. *Device*.—A winged horse.

Legend.—

No. 24. *Device*.—A winged horse.

Legend.—

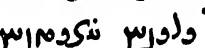
No. 25. *Device*.—A winged horse.

Legend.—

No. 26. *Device*.—A man on horseback. See engraving, Pl. III.

Legend.—

No. 27. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

Legend.—

No. 28. *Device*.—A rude figure of a bear.

Legend.—

راس

¹ A second specimen has .

- No. 29. *Device.*—See engraving, Pl. III.

Legend.—3911 21

١٠ با نوکی

- No. 30. . *Device*.—A buffalo, &c. See engraving, Pl. III.

Legend.—²مکرات و مندرلی

الوند شهیدوھری


- No. 31. *Device*.—A humped bull. See engraving, Pl. III.

*Legend.*³—**၁** နှစ်-**၂** နှစ်-**၃** နှစ်

- No. 32. *Device*.—A humped bull.

Legend.— μ ρ ω ϵ γ

- No. 33. *Device.*—A lion, *marchant*.

Legend.— یو لاس وړی دی

- No. 34. *Device*.—A lion, *couchant*.

Legend.—

A second gem, bearing the same device, has the legend *Apastún-ul-Yazdán*.

- No. 35. *Device*.—The winged fore-quarters and head of a tiger. See engraving, Pl. III.

• Legend.—

راستی و هو متوی

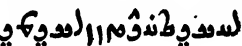
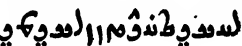
¹ See also coin legends noticed p. *ante*; Wilson, *Ar. Ant.*, Pl. fig.

^a A portion of this legend is inserted in the plate after No. 73.

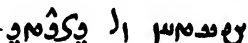
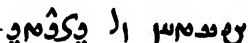
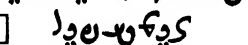
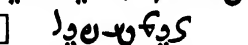
³ I have transcribed this as *ملتنان*, instead of *مرتنان*, as I find that the Pehlvi word for *men* is *[𐭌𐭎𐭕𐭕𐭎𐭕]*; Müller, Jour. Asiatique, tom VIII. p. 332. At the same time, I am aware that *مرتان* must have been in very ancient use, as it is noted among the favourite Sassanian names in the *Mojmel-al-tawárikh*, *Merdán Sháh*, &c.

I would take this opportunity of referring to the occurrence of *pinif* on the coins of Vácu Léva, No. 75, previous series.

- No. 36. *Device*.—A full front tiger's head, below which appears a bullock's head of the same size: the foot of the device and lower scroll of the legend is filled in with an object similar to that figured under No. 70, Pl. II. and No. 70 A. Pl. III.

Legend.— 

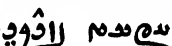
- No. 37. *Device*.—A full front tiger's head, coarsely executed.

Legend.— 
[ ]

- No. 38. *Device*.—An ibex, similar to No. 40.

Legend.—

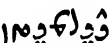
- No. 39. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

Legend.—



- No. 40. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

Legend.—

- No. 41. *Device*.—An ibex, *couchant*.

Legend.—


- No. 42. *Device*.—A tiger's head, *full front*.

Legend.— 
کونش فیل


- No. 43. *Device*.—A stag. See engraving, Pl. III

Legend.—


- No. 44. *Device*.—Two scorpions.

Legend.—

- No. 45. *Device*.—A scorpion.

Legend.—

No. 46. *Device*.—A tiger, *couchant*.

Legend.—

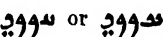

No. 47. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

No. 48. *Device*.—Two birds.

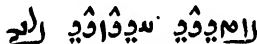
No. 49. *Device*.—A bird on the wing.

Legend.—

No. 50. *Device*.—An exceedingly rude figure of a man standing erect, holding in the one hand a chaplet upraised, and in the other an object not intelligibly defined.

Legend.— or 

No. 51. *Device*.—An erect figure of a man, with both arms upraised.


Legend.—

No. 52. *Device*.—An erect figure, apparently in the act of dancing; the left arm is elevated, and presents a flower, while the right hand is depressed, and holds a circular object which may be designed for a chaplet.


Legend.—

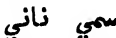
No. 53. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III. The *Legend* is expressed in a new variety of Pehlvi.

No. 54.—*Device*.—Nearly similar to No. 53.

Legend.—

No. 55. *Device*.—A female figure, standing to the right, holding a flower.

Legend.—



A second gem, with a similar figure, has *Apestán-ul-Yazdán*.

- No. 64, *Device.*—Star and crescent.

Legend.—**முன்னுரை**

There are several examples of modifications of these devices, bearing the common legend *Apastán-ul-Yazdán*.

Of these I may note—An eight-rayed star and crescent, with a well-designed outline of a bee inserted in the inner circle of the latter.

- No. 65. *Device*.—As outlined in Pl. II.

Legend.—

- No. 66. *Device.*—As outlined in Pl. II.

Legend.—

 A B C D E

- No. 67. *Device*.—As outlined in Pl. II.

• *Legend.*—

- No. 68. *Device.*—As outlined in Pl. II.

Legend.—*م* مائة *و* وسمائة *د* دسمائة

- No. 69. *Device*.—As outline in Pl. II.

[illegible]

- No. 70. *Device*.—As outlined in Pl. II.¹

Legend.—انلسر ڌو ڇڪڻو انلسر
ورهران زي مزوزي ورهرانان

- No. 70 A. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

Legend.—Apastán-ul-Yazdán.

- No. 71. *Device*.—A cross. See outline, Pl. II.; and engraving, Pl. III.


Legend.—

¹ There are a great variety of types of this device, as also numerous subordinate modifications of No. 68, exhibiting the whole or portions of the standard Legend *Apastán-ul-Yazdán*.

No. 72. *Device*.—A peacock


Legend.—

No. 73. *Device*—A singular, long-necked animal, possibly a panther.


Legend.—

Another specimen with an analogous legend bears the device of a stag; a third has an ibex; while a fourth example displays a rudely executed winged horse, with objects similar to those seen in the lower portions of the fields of Nos. 74, 75, respectively—placed above and below the animal.





No 74 *Device*—See outline, Pl. II

Legend—

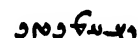


No. 75 *Device*—See outline, Pl II

Legend.—

No 76 See outline, Pl II



Legend.—{



No 77 See outline, Pl II

Legend.—{




No. 78.¹ (B.) *Device*.—A bust.

Legend—

¹ The gem from whence the above legend is taken, was sent me for inspection by a friend, some years ago. My note-book gives me the writing, but I find I have omitted to keep a record of the device.

No. 79. (B.) *Device*.—As figured, Pl. II.

Legend.—
 ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱
 اتور پون بيمزك

No. 80 (B) *Device*.—A singular object, seemingly designed for a flower

Legend.—
 ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱
 شه بهوهر يلات

No 81¹

Legend.—
 ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱
 ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱

No 82. (B) *Device*.—Coarsely executed bust of the king, to the right, wearing a modified form of the Parthian tiara

Legend.—
 ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱
 کوات مکلان مکلان پراوش

No. 83. (B) *Device*.—A lion

Legend.—
 ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱
 ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱

No. 84. *Device*.—A female figure reclining, the left arm rests on cushions, while the right supports a child, who holds a chaplet ornamented with three large flowers, and from which depend the ends of the Sassanian fillets. The hair of the head of the chief figure is arranged after the manner exhibited in No. 12, pl. III.; the hair of the child is plaited in a single tail, and is wanting in the bow or fillets which decorate the head of the larger figure.

Legend.—
 ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱
 ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱

No 85. Gem in the possession of Lady Sale.

Device.—Female figure standing to the left, the right hand is elevated, and the left arm supports an infant.

Legend.—
 ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱
 ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱

The gems marked B are the property of W. B. Barker, Esq.

My copy of this legend in Pl. II. has been imperfectly drawn, having been from an incomplete outline in my note-book. A re-examination of the original determines the initial letter to be 𐭌 = 𐭌, and supplies what has been omitted in the Plate transcript.

